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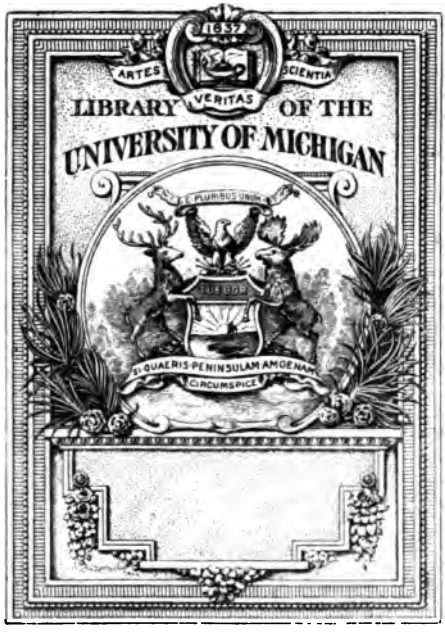
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STUDIES IN ROMANCE PHILOLOGY AND LITERATURE

CHARLES DE SAINTE-MARTHE

(1512–1555)

CHARLES DE SAINTE-MARTHE

(1512–1555)

BY

CAROLINE RUUTZ-REES, PH.D.

New York
THE COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS
1910

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Set up and electrotyped. Published November, 1910.

Norwood Press
J. S. Cushing Co. — Berwick & Smith Co.
Norwood, Mass., U.S.A.

PREFACE

THIS book attempts to give some account of the life of one of the lesser men of letters of the early Renaissance, and to describe and estimate the value of his work. Such a study should incidentally throw light upon certain aspects of an important period, and it is hoped that this also may have been here accomplished.

The preparation of the bibliography of such a subject is beset with some difficulty. If compiled to cover only works treating of the subject of the biography, its extreme paucity would be misleading; if designed to apply more extensively to the period involved, it should include the work of practically all contemporaries, and all modern studies upon each of these. I have taken refuge in a third alternative which I hope will prove more or less satisfactory. Without attempting anything so ambitious as a complete bibliography of the period involved, 1530 — say — to 1550, I have included the work of such contemporaries and such modern studies as I have myself found

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useful in forming a conception of the state of letters, taste, and opinion during those years.

Another difficulty confronting the student of a French subject in the first half of the sixteenth century concerns the spelling, accentuation, and punctuation of his author. Here I have somewhat sacrificed exactness to convenience. I have left Sainte-Marthe's French and Latin spelling in the main intact, only substituting *v* for *u* and *j* for *i* in the French, and resolving the abbreviations in both the French and Latin quotations. In the matter of diacritical marks, I have made no changes except to rectify obvious error, or to make my author consistent within a given work in the case of words of extremely frequent occurrence, as *à*, preposition or verb, or the feminine past participle in *ée*. Inconsistencies less conspicuous I have left untouched. In the case of the Funeral Oration on the Queen of Navarre, where my references are to its reprint by Leroux de Lincy and Montaiglon, I have naturally followed those editors. In the matter of punctuation, which in Sainte Marthe's work is extremely erratic, I have been less conservative and have made changes when the sense seemed to require it. With every care, I have doubtless not avoided all inexactness in quotation and refer-

ence. Where this occurs, I hope that my distance from the documents and my necessary dependence upon others for verification and reference may secure the indulgence of my readers.

Undertaken as part of the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Columbia University, my work has been carried on under the helpful and stimulating supervision of Professor Adolphe Cohn, to whom I can never sufficiently express my gratitude, not only for patient and suggestive counsel in matters of method and style, but for that awakening of the mind to the true value of scholarship which lays a student under the profoundest obligation he can acknowledge. Only second is my indebtedness to Professor Abel Lefranc of the Collège de France, who suggested to me the subject of this study. Apart from the debt which every student who concerns himself with the earlier French Renaissance owes to the highest authority on his subject, I have to express my gratitude not only for some valuable indications of sources, but for a personal interest and encouragement which has never ceased since I first undertook the subject while a student in Professor Lefranc's course on the Literary History of the Renaissance at the École

des Hautes Études. I desire also to express my obligation to Professor H. A. Todd and to Professor C. H. Page of Columbia University for much kind help and criticism; to my friend, Miss M. E. Lowndes, author of *Michel de Montaigne*, for valuable aid; to Dr. John L. Gerig of Columbia University, who placed at my disposal an unpublished letter of much importance to my subject and has aided me with advice; to M. Arthur Labbé of Châtellerault, who generously allowed me the use of a valuable book from his library; to Mr. Rupert Taylor, who helped me with researches in the library of Columbia University; and to my fellow-students at the École des Hautes Études in 1906–7 for helpful suggestions. Finally, I would acknowledge the kindness of M. N. Weiss, director of the Bibliothèque de la Société du Protestantisme français, who gave me personal help in my researches in that library, and the courtesy and helpfulness of the officials of those other libraries where most of my work has been done, — the Bibliothèque Nationale, the Bibliothèque Mazarine, the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, the Bibliothèque de l'Institute, and the Columbia University Library in New York.

INTRODUCTORY

THE name of Charles de Sainte-Marthe is little known to the student of French literature, even to the student of the French Renaissance. A modern writer on the subject, acknowledging Sainte-Marthe as "a scholar and religious reformer of some note," dismisses him as "a bad poet and a tiresome prose writer."[1] The first half of this condemnation is undeniably justified, but the second point is more open to question, and it will be in part the object of this study to show that Sainte-Marthe's two funeral orations, on the Queen of Navarre and on the Duchess of Beaumont, entitle their author to some consideration as a graceful contributor to French prose in its formative stages. Still, it remains doubtful whether either his performance in this regard, or his somewhat overloaded Latin paraphrases of Psalms, are of sufficient value to war-

[1] Tilley, *The Literature of the French Renaissance*, Vol. I, p. 92.

rant detailed study of Sainte-Marthe's life and work. It is rather to his place in the history of literary modes that his biographer must look for justification. A devoted follower of Marot, Sainte-Marthe yet anticipated the poets of the Pléiade in several respects, notably in response to the Petrarchistic influence, of which he was one of the earliest exponents. And if he anticipated the Pléiade here, he may be said also to have forestalled the Lyonnese school in expression of that Platonism which he shared in common with them and which was so essential a part of Petrarchism during the first ten years of its existence in France. Since his *Poesie Françoise* was published in 1540, when Scève's *Délie*, usually regarded as the first-fruits of the Lyonnese school and of Platonism in France, was still circulating in manuscript among the author's friends, he may be regarded as a forerunner rather than as a member of the poetic group which gave Lyons its particular place in the literary history of the French Renaissance. Such, briefly, are the particulars upon which must rest Sainte-Marthe's claim to a place in the history of French literature.

The chief sources of his biography, apart from his own works, are a family genealogy of the seventeenth century, *Généalogie de la Maison de Sainte-Marthe,* and Scévole de Sainte-Marthe's *Gallorum Doctrina illustrium . . . Elogia.*[1] Colletet's Ms. *Vies des poëtes françois* contains a not very illuminating "life"; Goujet's *Bibliothéque françoise* devotes some pages to him, and there are slight notices of him in the dictionaries of Du Verdier and La Croix du Maine, of Moréri, and of Lelong. Nicéron, Odolant Desnos, Dreux du Radier and Bréghot du Lut give brief biographies of varying accuracy; the *Biographie Universelle,* the *Nouvelle Biographie Générale,* and above all, Haag *frères' La France Protestante,* have useful notices. A more extended, if not wholly reliable, biography, is to be found in a recent book by P. de Longuemare — *Une famille d'auteurs aux seizième, dix-septième et dix-huitième siècles. Les Sainte-Marthe.* Buisson's *Sébastien Castellion* contains valuable notes, E. Gaullieur's *Histoire du Collège de Guyenne* gives some information, and brief notices

[1] For bibliographical details of these and the following sources, *cf.* p. 611 *et seq.*

are to be found here and there in other works treating of the period, for instance in Viollet-le-duc's *Catalogue de sa Bibliothèque poétique*. Scattered data are likewise to be found in the municipal archives of Bordeaux, Grenoble and Lyons; in a *plaidoyer* preserved at Le Mans; in the patent of Sainte-Marthe's appointment as *Procureur Général* of the duchy of Beaumont; in the poems of several contemporaries, — of Vulteius, of Gilbert Ducher, of Habert, of Robert the Breton, and of Denis Faucher, as well as in letters of the two latter and of Antoine Arlier (unpublished), and in other letters included in Herminjard's *Correspondance des Réformateurs*. Finally, there are interesting indications in Théodore de Bèze's *Histoire Ecclésiastique des Eglises Réformées*, and in La Ferrière-Percy's *résumé* of the book of accounts kept by Frotté for the Queen of Navarre from 1540 to 1548.

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ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

Page 107, note 2. *Rē* Villiers: a list of his compositions scattered among the collections of the time is to be found in Fetis' *Biographie Universelle des musiciens.*

Page 268, note 2. Error *rē* the refrain "Desbender l'arc ne guerit pas la playe." The translation, made by the king, occurs in Marot's *Adolescence Clementine* of 1532 in the *Chant royal dont le Roy bailla le refrain.*

CHARLES DE SAINTE-MARTHE

(1512–1555)

A STUDY IN THE EARLY FRENCH RENAISSANCE

PART I

CHAPTER I

BIRTH; EARLY YEARS; UNIVERSITY LIFE

CHARLES DE SAINTE-MARTHE belonged to a family already distinguished, and destined after him to be still more so. Notable men of war made his ancestry illustrious, among them Charles' grandfather Louis, who followed Charles VIII to Italy;[1] and Charles, himself without descendants, was the first of a succession of brilliant men of his name worthy of a high place in the annals — above all in the literary and religious annals — of France. Until the extinction of the family name with the death of

[1] *Cf.* P. De Longuemare, *Une famille d'auteurs . . .: Les Sainte-Marthe*, pp. 10–19.

the last Sainte-Marthe in 1779,[1] no generation was without a noteworthy representative. Nor have tributes to their eminence been lacking:

> "Si Samarthanæ quæris insignia gentis
> Qualia sint, Fusos ipsa Minerva dedit,"

wrote René Michel de la Rochemaillet in the middle of the seventeenth century, quoting the second motto of the Sainte-Marthe arms;[2] and in the eighteenth Nicéron[3] suggested to Voltaire the form of his appreciation of them: "Cette famille a été pendant plus de cent années féconde en savants."[4]

Not the least remarkable of a remarkable family was Charles' father, Gaucher de Sainte-Marthe, "écuyer, seigneur de Villedan, de la Rivière, de la Baste-en-Coursai, de Lerné, de Chapeau et des Nandes en Aunis."[5] He had been

[1] *Cf. ibid.*, p. 244.

[2] *In Fusos Samarthanæ Symbolum. Renati Michælis Rupemellei Poemata*, p. 60.

[3] *Cf. Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des hommes illustres dans la république des lettres*, Vol. VII, p. 11.

[4] *Siècle de Louis XIV*, ed. Moland, Vol. XIV, p. 127. Voltaire confused Charles with his father Gaucher.

[5] *Cf.* Dreux du Radier, *Bibliothèque hist. et crit. de Poitou*, Vol. II, art. *Sainte-Marthe (Gaucher)*.

a soldier, but had "left the service of Mars to give himself wholly to Minerva."[1] He studied medicine, that is, and obtained in 1506 the post of physician-in-ordinary to the Abbess and convent of Fontevrault.[2] At the time of his second son Charles' birth, in 1512, he was also counsellor and physician-in-ordinary to the king, and was regarded by his contemporaries as "an oracle of medicine and a tutelary Æsculapius."[3] At the abbey his situation was that of a trusted official and friend; and the Abbess often employed him in serious matters unconnected with his profession. For example, on the appointment of Louise de Bourbon, one of the Fontevrault nuns, to the abbey of Sainte-Croix, in Poitiers, he took formal possession, in

[1] *Généalogie de la Maison de Sainte-Marthe*, fol. 7 v°.

[2] The patent of his appointment — dated March 29th — is contained in the *Généalogie de la Maison de Sainte-Marthe*. In the *Cartul. Monasterii Fontis Ebraldi* Gaucher is mentioned as "Docteur en Médecine Ord^re de lad. Dame Abbesse de Céans et de son Monastère." (Vol. II, p. 359.) The family genealogy observes "il estoit premièrement au service de Charles Connestable de Bourbon qui l'aymait fort" (fol. 8 v°); but this service must have been later in his life, since the *Connétable* was born in 1490.

[3] *Généalogie de la Maison de Sainte-Marthe*, fol. 8 r°.

her name. He was present as witness when the dying Renée resigned her own abbey of Fontevrault into the hands of the same Louise, and he was the messenger to carry the news of her death to the king, who forthwith reappointed him physician to her successor.[1] His estates of Lerné and of La Mare, gifts from the Abbess and the convent,[2] testified to the Community's appreciation of him, and he had the distinction of burial in the choir of the abbey chapel —up to that time a prerogative of kings, princes and great lords only.[3] Although the Abbess and her nuns may have had ample reason to appreciate the "sense, learning, knowledge, experience and loyalty" mentioned, according to the usual formula, in the patent of their physician's appointment, Gaucher's character had other sides less agreeable. A particular interest attaches to him as the original of Rabelais' Picrochole.[4] He seems to have been a person of

[1] *Cf. Cartul. Fontis Ebraldi;* A. Parrot's ed., *Memoriale des Abbesses de Fontevrault,* pp. 33, 45 and 47.

[2] *Cf. Généalogie,* fol. 9 v°.

[3] *Cf. ibid.,* fol. 19 r°.

[4] *Cf.* Abel Lefranc, *Picrochole et Gaucher de Sainte-Marthe,* Rev. des Études Rabelaisiennes, Vol. III, p. 241.

disagreeable and irascible temper,[1] "fort cholère" is the expression used by the rather mysterious "Sieur Bouchereau," [2] who asserts that Sainte-Marthe once struck Rabelais when in consultation with him; and these faults of disposition were to become of painful importance in the life of his son Charles. Gaucher had married, two years after the Fontevrault appointment, Marie Marquet, daughter of Michel Marquet, *reçeveur général* of Touraine, — a marriage which connected him with the Budés as well as with other distinguished families; and he seems to have brought his wife to live actually in the abbey grounds, thenceforth the center of his family life in spite of occasional residence at Lerné or Le Chapeau. It was, in any case, at Fontevrault that Charles, the second of his twelve children, was born; and he had for his godfather Foucaud Mônier, *procureur* of Fontevrault.[3]

[1] *Cf. ibid.*, p. 244; and Henri Cluzot, *Les Amitiés de Rabelais en Orléanais; ibid.*, p. 169.

[2] H. C., "*Les notes de Bouchereau dans la collection Dupuy*"; *ibid.*, p. 405.

[3] Sainte-Marthe has an epitaph on him, — "Epitaphe de feu Monsieur maistre Foulcaud Mosnier, procureur de Fontevrault, et son Parrain, parlant en sa personne." *Poesie Francoise*, p. 53.

It is not difficult to trace in the character of Charles de Sainte-Marthe the influence during his early youth of surroundings so unusual as those of the royal abbey. The simple beauty and the antiquity of the great abbey buildings, set in a fresh valley surrounded by the forest, were themselves sufficiently impressive. About the strange "tour d'Evraud" hung grim associations of treachery and murder, while the transept of the great church, the "cimetière des rois" dedicated to statues and tombs of the Plantagenets, kindled the imagination no less than did the traditions of Fontevrault. The Convent's singular rule, exacting submission of man to woman,[1] the royal blood of its abbesses, its sway over many dependent abbeys and intercourse through them with England, Spain and Flanders, — all lifted it out of the conditions of ordinary monas-

[1] "Nous avons desia dit que la soubmission des hommes envers une fille est le sceau, l'esprit, la marque et la distinction essentielle de l'ordre de Fontevrauld." Honorat Nicquet, *Histoire de l'ordre de Fontevrauld*, p. 318. In 1534, at Renée's death, there were thirty-four "reformed convents" under her sway. Bosseboeuf, *Fontevrault, son histoire et ses monuments*. Tours, 1890, pp. 13 and 21.

tic life. To these things, however, the convent owed the least of its charm during the early years of Charles de Sainte-Marthe's life; for, through all its routine, shone the spirit of a great personality.

The boy must often, in spite of her vow of cloister, have seen Renée de Bourbon[1] in her black veil and white habit — her delicate, stunted figure, no taller than that of a child of ten, offset by a soft grace of face and bearing, "all spiritual, all ethereal"; he must have been impressed by that vivacious speech, revealing the powerful mind, already, as it seemed, almost free of the body, — speech expressing "nothing light, nothing ill-considered, nothing without modesty," as its possessor did "nothing undeliberate, nothing hasty, nothing without prudence."[2] His young mind was no doubt filled

[1] Twenty-third abbess of Fontevrault (1491–1534), daughter of Jean II de Bourbon, count of Vendôme and direct descendant of Louis IX. Her brother, François de Bourbon, count of Vendôme, married Marie de Luxembourg, and was father of Charles de Bourbon, first duke of Vendôme, who married Françoise d'Alençon and became the grandfather of Henri IV.

[2] *Cartul. Fontis Ebraldi*, Vol. II, p. 141.

with tales of Renée's vigorous reform of her monasteries and convents, — a reform carried out in the face of rebellion and discouragement and completed only after seventeen weary years, just as Charles himself was entering upon manhood. Above all, he must have been touched by the tale of her vow of cloister, solemnly taken some years before his birth, and of the sale of her treasures for the building in progress all through his childhood: "*Cum decore multo ac non vulgata magnificentia edificavit*," declare the convent records.[1] It is perhaps not too much to assume that the moral enthusiasm, the strong spirituality, even the championship of women, characteristic of Sainte-Marthe's later life, owed their beginnings to the influence of Renée de Bourbon.

Sainte-Marthe was well fitted, by native gifts no less of mind than of soul, to absorb the atmosphere of his early surroundings. He himself mentions his intellectual endowments with a certain naïveté: "Moreover, God gifted me," he writes, "from my earliest years with rare aptitude of wit, and so enabled me to grasp all

[1] *Cartul. Fontis Ebraldi*, Vol. II, p. 140.

the arts that there is almost none in which I do not seem to its professors to have spent most of my time. . . . I do not claim for myself absolute and complete knowledge of tongues; but, however small mine is, it is at least sufficient to require me to thank God the giver according to my might." [1]

It is probable that, despite charm of surroundings and activities of mind, Sainte-Marthe's boyhood was not wholly happy; for in later life he could find occasion for thankfulness in mischiefs and calamities with which God had tried his patience from boyhood up. Such "mischiefs" may have been connected with his father's irritable temper; but whatever miseries Gaucher de Sainte-Marthe's disposition inflicted upon his family, at least they did not include the neglect of his children's education. His eldest son Louis was sent to Loudun to study his "humanities," to Poitiers for philosophy and law.[2] Charles studied law at Poitiers, but where he obtained his preliminary education remains unknown. "Après avoir fini ses hu-

[1] *In . . . Psalmum xxxiii., Paraphrasis*, p. 146.
[2] *Cf.* Longuemare, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

manités," says Dreux du Radier, vaguely enough, "il étudia le droit à Poitiers." [1] Whether at that university or elsewhere, he had obtained the degree of master of arts before 1533,[2] — probably a year or two earlier, since in 1550 he speaks of himself as having been "distraict presque l'espace de 20 ans de la mamelle des bonnes lettres." [3] For Sainte-Marthe, "bonnes lettres" included the still very unusual study of Greek. "Si est ce," so Colletet renders his famous nephew Scévole's [4] account of him and his brother Jacques: "Si est ce que tous deux ils furent ensemble sur ce point, qu'ils se rendirent excellens dans la langue grecque et que tous deux ils s'appliquèrent profondément

[1] *Bibliothèque . . . de Poitou*, art. *Sainte-Marthe.* Sainte-Marthe's few biographers have followed Du Radier; and the latter's close connection with the "Chevalier de Sainte-Marthe," to whom he owed his data about the family, makes it probable that his account is reliable.

[2] When engaged as professor by Jean de Tartas in that year (*cf.* p. 16) he held this degree.

[3] *Oraison funèbre . . . de . . . Marguerite, Royne de Navarre*, etc., p. 28.

[4] *Ré* Scévole de Sainte-Marthe, cf. Auguste Hamon, *De Scævolæ Samarthanæ vita et latine scriptis operibus.* Paris, 1901.

à la philosophie et à la cognoissance de tous les aultres arts libéraux." [1]

The study of Greek was still new in France, and no doubt especially so at a distance from Paris. Lascaris had but just left the country — that is, in 1528 or 1529, — the circle formed by his first pupils and those of his inept predecessor, Hermonymus,[2] though distinguished, was small, and Budé, its greatest ornament, was but now bringing about the establishment of the royal professorships at Paris.[3] The printing of Greek was younger than the century,[4] the supply of Greek type still scant; and, if Budé had not only made but printed his translations in the very beginning of the Hellenistic movement,[5] his example does not seem to have been followed until more than twenty years had passed.[6] Under such

[1] *Eloges des hommes illustres*, p. 372.

[2] For an account of Hermonymus, *cf.* L. Delaruelle, *Guillaume Budé*, pp. 69–73.

[3] Established in 1530. The professors entered upon their duties in March. *Cf.* Lefranc, *Histoire du Collège de France*, pp. 101–113, esp. p. 109.

[4] The first Greek book was printed in 1507.

[5] *I.e.* in 1503, 1505, etc. *Cf.* bibliography of L. Delaruelle, *op. cit.*, pp. xviii and xix.

[6] Claude de Seyssel, *Thucydides*, 1527; Xenophon's *Anabasis*, 1529. Books XVIII–XX of Diodorus, 1530,

conditions, it would be interesting to know what turned Sainte-Marthe's attention towards a study to be pursued only with great difficulty. Was it the influence of his great kinsman Budé himself,[1] or was it the example of a man between whom and the Sainte-Marthe family there was, or was soon to be, a bitter feud?[2] Rabelais, who had conquered the language under far greater disadvantages, may have been in attendance at Poitiers but a few years before Sainte-Marthe entered the law-school there, and it is inconceivable that his unusual accomplishment, coupled with his unusual genius, should not have spurred others to the pursuit of the same study.

When Sainte-Marthe, his humanities acquired, entered the law-school at Poitiers, that "aultre

etc. *Cf.* Tilley, *Literature of the French Renaissance*, Vol. I, p. 35.

[1] Although the family genealogist asserts that Sainte-Marthe was praised by Budé, I have not been able to verify this assertion. However, Budé appears to have been in touch with Gaucher's family, particularly with Charles' younger brother Jacques, who wrote his funeral oration. *Cf.* Longuemare, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

[2] For an account of this family feud, *cf* Lefranc, *Pierochole et Gaucher de Sainte-Marthe, loc. cit.*, p. 244 *et seq.*

ville d'Athènes," as Jacques de Hillerin, a later student, called it,[1] was the seat of one of the most celebrated universities of France,[2] and its schools, especially its famous law-school, were thronged to the doors. The discipline was lax enough, and there was a large idle element among the students, "fluteurs et joueurs de paume de Poitiers," [3] who had plenty of time for banquets "à force flaccons, jambons et pastez." [4] They delighted, for instance, at the performance of the mysteries, in ill-placed pleasantries and indecent shouts,[5] as Sainte-Marthe no doubt observed for himself when the Mystery of the Passion was played there in his time.[6] Yet

[1] 1578–1663. *Le chariot chrestien à quatre roues menant à salut dans le souvenir de la mort, du jugement, de l'enfer, et du Paradis.* Paris, 1552. *Cit.* (without loci) Auber, *Jacques de Hillerin*, Bulletin de la Soc. des Antiquaires de l'Ouest, 1850, p. 72.

[2] *Cf.* Theodore de Bèze, *Hist. Eccl.*, pp. 1–63. *Cf. rē* the university generally, Auber *op. cit.;* E. Pilotelle, *Essai historique sur l'ancienne Université de Poitiers;* Méms. de la Soc. des Antiquaires de l'Ouest, 1862; Dartige, *Notes sur l'université de Poitiers*, Poitiers, 1883; Thibaudeau, *Histoire de Poitiers*, Niort, 1840.

[3] Chassanée *cit.* Pilotelle, *op. cit.*, p. 302.

[4] Rabelais, *Œuvres*, Vol. I, p. 237.

[5] *Cf.* Pilotelle, *op. cit.*, p. 303.

[6] On the 5th of July, 1533. *Cf.* Bouchet, *Annales d'Aquitaine*, p. 474.

such high spirits must have been often dashed by the spectacle of sudden death, since, during Sainte-Marthe's residence, the plague devastated town and university and found many victims among the young.[1]

Sainte-Marthe was himself one of the more serious students, like Hillerin, who, "en sortant des grandes écoles pour retourner à son logis, prit son chemin par le palais pour se divertir à entendre plaider les causes."[2] He even found time to combine with the study of law that of theology, no doubt completing, either at the theological school of the university itself or at the convent of the Dominicans,[3] whose courses were of older establishment and greater prestige, the theological *quinquennium* whose first two years led to the degree of Master of Arts.[4]

[1] 1531–1532. "Ces fievres estoient mortelles mêmement en jeunes gens de l'age de vingt à trente ans dont moururent plus de riches que de pauvres." Bouchet, *Annales d'Aquitaine*, p. 469.

[2] Auber, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

[3] This convent was closely affiliated with the university, and its courses led to the university examinations and degrees.

[4] The first of these was devoted to logic, metaphysics and ethics, the second to mathematics and physics. The

He has left us his reasons for uniting these two disciplines: "And what, it may be asked," he writes, "has the jurist to do with theology? The reply is that I wish to be no less a theologian than a jurist; as well because at one time I devoted myself wholly to this discipline, as because it is itself like an opal wherein prevail the qualities of many jewels, namely, the very delicate fire of the carbuncle, the purple of the amethyst, the green of the emerald, all, as it were, incredibly intermingled. And so, whatever succeeds in pleasing, in whatsoever 'ethnic' writers, is at the same moment found in it. Moreover, although jurisprudence is greatly to be approved, yet if we give ourselves wholly to that study, it carries away our health of mind and immediately blinds us with a certain madness of empty glory and an unmeasured lust of possession." [1]

Sainte-Marthe's studies must have been as yet incomplete, for he had not obtained the doctorate

completion of the *quinquennium* bestowed the right to enter the priesthood or to obtain benefices without the cure of souls. *Cf.* E. Pilotelle, *op. cit.*, pp. 310 and 311.

[1] Dedication to Jean Galbert, *In Psalmum septimum et Psalmum xxxiii., Paraphrasis*, p. 15; *cf.* p. 573 *et seq.*

of law when, in 1533, he was invited by Jean de Tartas to the newly established *Collège de Guyenne* at Bordeaux, "pour faire classe et règle à composer et prononcer oraisons, dialogues, comédies, et lire publiquement."[1] Although his agreement with Tartas[2] is dated December the 4th, it is probable that he actually entered upon his duties some time earlier; for in this document he is described as "à present demeurant à Bordeaux," and he may have been one of the twenty teachers who accompanied the new principal to Bordeaux and were present at the opening of the college on May the 24th of that year.[3] Sainte-Marthe began his work under the most favorable auspices. Bordeaux, eager for its share of the new learning, was filled with enthusiastic expectations about the staff of the college it had so vigorously reorganized;[4] and indeed the reputation of Tartas, "omnium Parisinorum gymnasiar-

[1] *Cf.* p. 589.

[2] *Rē* Tartas, *cf.* Ernest Gaullieur, *Hist. du Col. de Guyenne*, Chaps. II–IV, pp. 25–76 *et passim*.

[3] *Cf. Nic. Clenardi, Epist. libri duo*, etc., *Lib.* II, p. 130. *Cit.* Gaullieur, pp. 41 and 51.

[4] For an account of the early conditions of the *Collège de Guyenne*, *cf.* Gaullieur, *op. cit.*, and M. E. Lowndes, *Michel de Montaigne*. Cambridge, 1898, pp. 16–20.

charum facile princeps,"[1] warranted the brightest hopes. The instructors whom he brought with him were for the most part young men of parts and ambition lately out of college.[2] Several, like Matthias Itterius,[3] were genuinely erudite; and one, Gentian Hervet, — afterwards a prolific controversialist on the orthodox side,[4] — shared Sainte-Marthe's acquaintance with Greek. So perhaps did Jean Visagier,[5] better known as Vulteius, who later on acquired no mean reputation as a Latin poet.

[1] Hervetus, *De amore in patriam oratiuncula. Orationes*, p. 88.

[2] *Rē* the other instructors engaged by Tartas, *cf.* Gaullieur, *op. cit.*, pp. 52–58 and 86.

[3] Witness Scaliger and Breton, *cit.* Gaullieur, *ibid.*, p. 56.

[4] "Perhumanus erat et literis græcis juxta ac latinis eruditus." *Roberti Britanni Epist. libri tres*, fol. 39 v°, *cit.* Gaullieur, p. 53. *Rē* Hervet (1509–1594), *cf.* Gaullieur, *op. cit.*, p. 118 n.; and the *Nouveau Dict. Hist.*, Vol. IV, p. 423. The latter, however, places his appearance "avec éclat" at the Council of Trent before his tutorship at Bordeaux, which is obviously impossible. For a list of his numerous works, chiefly controversy and translations, *cf.* Nicéron, *op. cit.*, pp. 190–200.

[5] So Copley Christie conjectures upon what seem, however, slight grounds. *Etienne Dolet*, p. 299. For the identification of Vulteius with Visagier, generally referred to as Voulté, sometimes as Faciot, *cf.* Gaullieur,

Besides the pleasure of finding himself among such colleagues under a man of great reputation, Sainte-Marthe had the satisfaction of feeling himself much considered. The circumstance that his whole salary of thirty-five *livres tournois* was paid to him in advance, before his agreement was signed, and that it was given to him "tant en robbes et habillements que en or"[1] seems to indicate that the young scholar was in immediate need. His salary, however, was higher than that of any one else except Visagier.[2] That ill-fated poet[3] and Sainte-Marthe formed a friendship which included also Nicholas Roillet, and the more distinguished Robert Breton,[4] well known in later life as a Ciceronian and a prolific author and letter-writer. Breton and Saint-

op. cit., p. 57; Copley Christie, *op. cit.*, p. 298, and *M. B.*, *Réponse, Quel est le véritable nom du poète Rémois Joannes Vulteius?* Rev. d'Hist. Litt. (1894), p. 530.

[1] *Cf.* p. 590.

[2] *Cf.* Gaullieur, *op. cit.*, pp. 53–57.

[3] He was assassinated on December 30th, 1542, by an opponent in a lawsuit.

[4] I have found no satisfactory account of Breton. That of Gaullieur (*op. cit.*, pp. 84–86) gives no information. For a long list of his works *cf.* the catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale.

Marthe had a common interest in learning. Breton, if he knew no Greek at this time, soon became interested in it, perhaps through the example of Sainte-Marthe and Hervet, and shortly set himself to master it thoroughly.[1] His affection for Sainte-Marthe was evidently lasting. The busy correspondent of Bembo, Scaliger, Guillaume du Bellay, Sadolet, Arnold le Ferron, Matthieu Pac, Dolet, Guillaume Postel, and others equally distinguished,[2] he found time to write affectionate letters to Sainte-Marthe, and long cherished the memory of their intercourse at Bordeaux. "My recollection of Fabrice, Duchêne, de Borsale, Bolonne and Sainte-Marthe is still alive and strong," he writes years afterward[3] to his friend Pierre Cocaud; "Sainte-Marthe was my colleague and friend at Bordeaux." Breton came to the college later than Sainte-Marthe, possibly to supply a vacancy, as did one or two other professors, among them André Zébédée, a

[1] *Cf. infra*, p. 50.

[2] *Cf.* his two volumes of letters: *Epist. libri tres*, 1536; and *Epist. libri duo*, 1540.

[3] *I.e.* between 1536 and 1540, the dates of the publication of Breton's two volumes of letters. *Epist. libri duo*, fol. 14 v°.

quarrelsome character, rash, vain, unmanageable, wholly without tact, who, later on, became at once a Protestant and a thorn in the side of Calvin.[1] He also in all likelihood entered into personal relations with Sainte-Marthe,[2] whose intercourse with his Bordeaux acquaintance was, however, to be but short.

The work of the new staff at Guyenne was soon interrupted by quarrels with the principal; for Tartas, whatever his experience and reputation, lacked the gifts necessary to make his direction successful.[3] Something unreasonable and captious in his temper led to constant misunderstandings with his subordinates, and, in the end, to his own dismissal on April the 11th, 1534. This abrupt conclusion of his functions

[1] *Rē* Zébédée, *cf.* Herminjard, *Correspondance des Reformateurs*, Vol. V, p. 98, and Vols. V–IX, *passim*, and F. Buisson, *Sébastien Castellion*, Vol. I, p. 235. In 1542, when pastor of Orbe, he was capable of preaching from seven to eleven o'clock for the purpose of annoying the Catholic priest of that place — "et toujours eust sermonné si ne fust que le gouverneur de la ville le fist à descendre de la chaize."

[2] Cf. Breton's letter, p. 52, not, however, conclusive proof.

[3] *Rē* these and following details, *cf.* Gaullieur, *op. cit.*, Chaps. V and VI.

involved at least a partial dispersal of the teachers Tartas had engaged. Visagier went to study law and to lecture at Toulouse, Hervet to hold a chair at Orléans, while Sainte-Marthe in all probability spent a year in various places in Guyenne. Neither principal nor teachers, however, appear to have left Bordeaux at once. Tartas, indeed, lingered on for months, and even took part, as a member of the college, in college functions after the arrival and appointment of his successor in July.[1] Sainte-Marthe's departure, of which the exact date is unknown, was also deliberate. He was still at Bordeaux at least as late as May 16, 1534; for on that day he officially received the officers come to deliver notice of a municipal ordinance forbidding collegians to bear arms in the town, an injunction suggestive of the disorder prevailing at the college.[2] Although he was not, like his friends

[1] *Roberti Britanni epist. libri tres*, fol. 70 r°, *cit.* Gaullieur, p. 118.

[2] "Est faicte inhibition aux escholiers parlant à maistre Charles de Sainote-Marthe, de ne aller par ville avec armes sous poyne d'amende." Archives de Bordeaux, B. B. Registres de la jurade (1534), Vol. VI, p. 312; *cit.* Gaullieur, p. 76.

Breton and Zébédée, among the eight teachers officially retained under the new administration, his agreement with Tartas held him at the disposal of the college until December the 4th, 1534; and it is therefore probable that he did not leave Bordeaux until late in 1534, having seen the inception of a better régime and made some acquaintance with the new principal, André de Gouvea,[1] the object of Montaigne's admiration. He appears to have known also the devoted humanist and teacher, Maturin Cordier,[2] the purity and modesty of whose life was equaled only by his learning. The latter was a friend of Vulteius, who celebrated in Latin verse the sweetness of his character:

"Te docuit Christus verumque fidemque docere,
Te docuit Christus spernere divitias,

[1] *Rē* Gouvea, *cf.* Gaullieur, p. 72, and Chaps. V and XIV; Quicherat, *Histoire de Sainte Barbe*, Paris, 1860, pp. 130–218, 222, 228 *et seq.*; and Braga, *Historia da Universidade de Coimbra*, etc., Lisbon, 1892, Vol. I, p. 484 *et seq.*

[2] *Rē* Cordier, *cf.* Lefranc, *Hist. du Collège de France*, pp. 140 and 141. Buisson, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 125–129 *et passim*; Herminjard, *op. cit.*, *passim*; Massebieau, *Les Colloques Scolaires du seizième siècle*, pp. 204 *et seq.*, *cit.* Lowndes, *op. cit.*, p. 236 n.; Weiss, *Le Collège de Nevers et Maturin Cordier*, Revue Pédagogique, 1891, pp. 400–411.

Te docuit Christus teneram formare Juventam,
Te docuit Christus moribus esse bonis.
Te docuit Christus, nulla mercede parata,
Viva literulas voce docere bonas,
Te docuit Christus cœlum vitamque beatam
A se immortali, non aliunde, dari," etc.
— *Cit.* Buisson, Vol. I, p. 126, n. 4.

Cordier, far older than his colleagues, came to Bordeaux in flight from Paris for religion's sake,[1] making the journey as one of the five *regents* to procure whom Gouvea went to Paris at the very end of the year. If Sainte-Marthe remained until his arrival, he must have known also Jacques de Teyve,[2] Grouchy and Fabrice,[3]

[1] *Cf.* Preface to his Colloques, *cit.* Weiss, *op. cit.*, p. 401, and *La France Prot.*, 2d ed., Vol. V, col. 881.

[2] So Theophile Braga also concludes, but upon grounds quite incorrect. He identifies the San Martinho mentioned by Diogo de Teive in his trial in 1550 with Charles de Sainte-Marthe, from whose name (Samarthanus) he supposes that of San Martinho derived. *Op. cit.* Vol. I, p. 545, n. 1. But apart from other considerations, the San Martinho of De Teive's account was a doctor of medicine, married and settled in Paris, and was at one time tutor to the sons of two Gascon noblemen. *Ibid.*, pp. 538, 542, 545.

[3] *Ré* Nicolas de Grouchy, cf. Sainte-Marthe, *Elogia;* La Croix du Maine, *Bib. Franc.;* De Thou, *Historia sui temporis*, Book LIV, pp. 715–716; Hallam, *Literature of Europe*, Vol. II., p. 44, *cit.* Lowndes, *op. cit.*, p. 236. As

and might have become acquainted also with Antoine de Gouvea, the brilliant younger brother of the principal, of immense distinction in the eyes of his contemporaries.[1] Antoine appears, however, to have been unknown to him until several years later,[2] and it may therefore be that he arrived later than is usually represented.

In any case, upon leaving Bordeaux, Sainte-Marthe must have spent a year in the province. He was for some time at Bazas, and went thence to Marmande, where, for a short period, — "aliquot dies" is Breton's expression,[3] — he per-

for Fabrice, the title of the extant volume of his letters is evidence of his distinction: *Arnoldi Fabricii Vasatensis Pelluhetani, viri Latinatis purioris in primis studiosi doctique, Epistolæ aliquot.*

[1] *Cf.* De Thou's account of him, *op. cit.*, Book XXXVIII, *cit.* Lowndes, *op. cit.*, p. 236, and Quicherat, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 131–133.

[2] *Cf. infra*, p. 52, Breton's letter. The reference might indeed have been to another brother, Martial de Gouvea, at one time professor at Poitiers; but Sainte-Marthe's use of the singular — "nostri Gouveani" — would then remain to be accounted for. Gaullieur gives no authorities as to the time of Antoine's arrival.

[3] "Reliquit Basacum Samartanus, Marmandæ aliquot dies egit, et præfuit academiæ, nunc vero se ad suos recepit." Letter to Antoine Gerot, dated Toulouse,

formed the duties of municipal schoolmaster. Such unsettled wanderings were to Sainte-Marthe pure hardship, sweetened only by his muse; "et oultre plus," he exclaims, though perhaps not on this occasion:

> "Et oultre plus qu'est ce qui me soublieve
> L'adversité que je porte si griefve,
> Allant ainsi par pays tant divers,
> Que le plaisir que me donnent mes vers?
> Si le dur sort au penser me desole
> Soubdainement ma muse me console,
> A mon esprit donnant tant de plaisir,
> Qu'elle met hors soubdain tout desplaisir."
> — *Poesie Francoise*, p. 150.

He had another consolation in friendship, for he kept in touch with his friend Breton. Breton spent the summer of 1535 in journeying in search of health to the waters of the Pyrenees. Ill and out of spirits, he at least found no solace in poetry, the proper occupation of the joyful; and he addressed to Sainte-Marthe a bitter quatrain on the subject:

December the 18th, *Epist. libri tres*, fol. 96 v°. Gaullieur (*op. cit.*, p. 76) says—and he is followed by Buisson (*op. cit.*, p. 180)—that Sainte-Marthe remained at Bazas more than a year. He gives no authority for this assertion, beyond Breton's letter, which does not appear to warrant it.

Ad Carolum Samartanum

"Carole cur laudas mea carmina, cur tua damnas?
Hic vester fundus, podia vestra jacent;
Iampriden ista gravis solatia mœror ademit.
Vis apte carmen scribere? scribe hilaris."
— *Carm. liber unus*, fol. 15 v°.

By September, Breton had arrived, with health somewhat improved, at Toulouse, where he made a prolonged stay, and where Visagier joined him; and it was from that town that he wrote his congratulations when Sainte-Marthe at last decided to return to his own family and traveled northward, in the winter of 1535.[1] "You

[1] M. Gaullieur (*op. cit.*, p. 77) places Sainte-Marthe's arrival at home toward the end of the year 1536, as he does that of Breton at Toulouse in September of the same year, differing in this latter instance from Copley Christie, who dates Breton's arrival 1535. (*Op. cit.*, p. 299.) As Breton's letters to Sainte-Marthe and to Gerot (*cf. supra*) are from Toulouse, the date of his arrival there settles that of Sainte-Marthe's movements. Unfortunately, Breton, like a true Ciceronian, omits the date of the year, and it is, therefore, within certain limits, left open to conjecture. Copley Christie is borne out by the *achevé d'imprimer* of the volume, *Epistolarum libri tres*, 1536, from which the two letters in question are taken: "Impressum Tolosę per Nicolaum Vieillardum X. Calend. Ianuarij, Anno a Nativitate Dei Millesimo Quingentesimo Trigesimo Sexto." Since the letter to Gerot is dated December 18, its insertion in a book completed by December 22 of

have betaken yourself to your own people," he says, in his letter dated December 7; "I approve and heartily wish the same for myself. You, however, are certain to enjoy leisure before I do,[1] and I should attempt the same thing if I were seeking a settled establishment in preference to other honors. Write to me, and care for your health."

On his return, Sainte-Marthe found various changes in the convent and in his home. One of his sisters had taken the veil at Fontevrault, another at Tusson.[2] Two of his brothers, Louis and René, had married, and the former had left Fontevrault to settle at Loudun.[3] Louis' marriage with Nicole Lefèvre, especially, allied the Sainte-Marthes with the most distinguished families in France — among others, the Briçonnets and the De Thous; but the year which thus

the same year seems highly improbable. I suppose, then, that these letters were written in 1535.

[1] Or: "I have decided to try everything else (omnia) first." The meaning is not clear owing to the abbreviations. For the text, *cf.* p. 601.

[2] *Cf.* Longuemare, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

[3] Sainte-Marthe has an epigram to this brother: *A Louys de Saincte Marthe, son frere, que Vertu n'est contaminée par detraction des meschants.* *P. F.*, p. 11.

added to the prestige of their family left them mourning the loss of an invaluable friend. Renée de Bourbon died in the very month of the brilliant marriage,[1] "et a rendu son bien heureux esprit entre les paroles de oraison."[2] Her niece and successor, however, Louise de Bourbon, was no less well-disposed to Gaucher, who retained his post as the abbey physician.

It is not clear after how long a stay at home Sainte-Marthe returned to Poitiers, no doubt to fulfil the remaining requirements for the doctorate of law. On his arrival he assuredly found the interest of the university aroused by a recent visit of Calvin.[3] Whatever Calvin lacked in ordinary persuasive eloquence, his vigorous genius could not fail to produce its effect upon a town like Poitiers, long the home of thought and discussion; for, in the words of a far from friendly historian, "la science tout ainsi que la

[1] *I.e.* on October the 9th, 1534.

[2] Letter of announcement sent by the convent of Fontevrault to the other convents. Bouchet, *Epistres, Elegies, Epigrammes*, etc., fol. Hiij.

[3] The exact date of Calvin's stay in Poitiers is undetermined. It was between November, 1533, and May, 1534, — a period during which his movements are obscure. *Cf.* A. Lefranc, *La Jeunesse de Calvin*, p. 116.

vertu fait bientost aimer et cherir, et les excellens esprits, soit au mal soit au bien, disoit Philon, paroissent incontinent, et n'ont besoin du temps pour estre cogneus. C'est un commerce qui unit et ralie les personnes les plus estrangeres. Elle fut cause que Calvin, ayant donné quelques mois a avancer ses cognoissances, eust en peu de temps fait provision d'amis."[1] The young apostle's friends and converts had been chiefly men of the university, "hommes de lettres," "gens d'eschole," but there had been also certain persons of higher quality, notably Regnier, the lieutenant-general in whose garden Calvin had ceased to talk, as at first, "a demi-mot," and had openly expounded his doctrine. There, "commes nos premiers peres furent premierement enchantez et deceus dans un jardin, aussi dans ce jardin du lieutenant a la rue des Bassestreilles, cette poignée d'hommes fut enjollée et coiffée par Calvin."[2] It is easy to imagine the effect of the talk about Calvin upon a student of Sainte-Marthe's caliber. We

[1] Florimond de Rœmond, *Histoire de l'heresie de ce siècle*, Book VII, pp. 890–891.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 892.

have seen among what earnest and spiritual influences his early life was passed. Reform, if in a moral sense merely, was a word familiar to him from his childhood up, — it had been the preoccupation of the people who surrounded him from his earliest years, — and indications are not lacking that the *Collège de Guyenne*, if not yet that "foyer de la propagande" it has been called,[1] shared, even so early as the time of his residence there, in that religious unrest[2] which marked the beginning of the century when "tout se desunit et devisa en schismes et heresies."[3] Sainte-Marthe's mind was by circumstance, then, predisposed to the consideration of religious matters,[4] and his natural instincts heightened

[1] Buisson, *Sebastien Castellion*, Vol. I, p. 127.

[2] Some of the early regulations of Gouvea seem to imply that such uneasiness of feeling had existed in the college even before his arrival: "Premierement les escholiers seront religieux et craignant Dieu. Ils ne sentiront ou ne parleront mal de la religion Catholique ou orthodoxe." Rules placarded by Gouvea in the chief hall of the college. Gaullieur, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

[3] Florimond de Rœmond, *op. cit.*, Book VII, p. 6.

[4] Gaullieur (*op. cit.*, p. 77) says that Sainte-Marthe entered into relations with Vernou, whom Calvin had left "pour gaigner le plus qu'il pouvait d'escholiers dans sa ville de Poitiers," but I find no data for this.

the predisposition. "Homme de gaillard esprit" as Theodore de Bèze calls him,[1] he added to impulsiveness an actual thirst for a pure spiritual life, a longing likely to incline him towards the reforms that Calvin had lately preached in Poitiers.

The particular circle in which the young poet found himself must have been singularly at variance on the subject of the new doctrine. An obscure *dixain* addressed by Sainte-Marthe to Gabriel de Pontoise, who married his sister Louise, perhaps refers to this division of opinion.[2] To the indefatigable rhymester, Jean Bouchet, *procureur* of the town, a common interest in Fontevrault must have made Sainte-Marthe known; and Bouchet, however his relations with Rabelais may have enlarged his views, was uncompromisingly orthodox. So, probably, were René Lefèvre,[3] dean of the cathedral and teacher in the university, and another *regent*, Charles de

[1] *Hist. Eccl.*, p. 63.

[2] *P. F.*, p. 15; *cf.* p. 532.

[3] *Ré* Lefèvre (1502–1569), *cf.* Dreux du Radier, *Bib.... de Poitou*, and *Gallia Christiana*, Vol. II, col. 1218 D. For Sainte-Marthe's epigram to him, *cf.* p. 531.

la Ruelle,[1] doctor of law and father of the better-known Louis de la Ruelle — both connected with Sainte-Marthe by marriage. On the other hand, Sainte-Marthe seems to have counted on the sympathy of his cousin Jean de Sainte-Marthe;[2] Roillet (or Roullet)[3] and the untiring bookworm Fabrice[4] — both, it seems likely, now at Poitiers — must have been at least open-minded; while Calvin's friend Laurent of Normandy[5] and that member of the Etienne family — possibly Robert himself[6] —

[1] *Rē* De la Ruelle, *cf.* Du Radier, *op. cit.*; Bouchet, *Annales d'Aquitaine*, p. 68; and *Actes de François I.* He was tutor in the Unversity of Poitiers, had been appointed in 1531 "conseiller en la Sénéchaussé de Poitou," and was at one time mayor of Poitiers. He married Isabelle Lefèvre, a sister of René Lefèvre. Sainte-Marthe addressed a poem to him — *A Charles de la Ruelle, Que toute Amytié doibt estre fondeé sur Vertu. P. F.*, p. 12.

[2] For Sainte-Marthe's verses to him, *cf.* p. 532.

[3] *Rē* Roillet, *cf.* Breton's letter, *infra*, p. 36. I suppose Roulletus and Roillet identical. Possibly it was he Marot attacked in an epigram "A Roullet." *Œuvres*, Vol. III, p. 93.

[4] "Fabritius (ut audio) agit Pictavi: et totos dies cum libris, necdum ab illo inexhausto, nec iniucundo sibi legendi, et scribendi labore discessit." *Rob. Brit. Epist. libri duo*, fol. 14 v°.

[5] *Rē* Laurent of Normandy — Normandius — *cf.* Lefranc, *La jeunesse de Calvin*, pp. 106, 127 *seq.*, *et passim.*

[6] Cf. *infra*, p. 43.

whom Sainte-Marthe counted among his friends were doubtless already leaning as strongly towards "reform" as the unsavory Jean Ferron.[1] Only undiscerning ardor in friendship can account for Sainte-Marthe's intimacy with a man of Ferron's stamp. He was a plausible rascal, of a character to precipitate any trouble which was brewing — and trouble was at least in the air. The prominence of his family in the province made Sainte-Marthe a conspicuous figure in the little university town, and, in view of his obvious sympathies, he could not escape the attacks of envious detractors.[2] He refused, from Christian motives mingled with pride, to reply to them, he tells Ferron:

[1] Sainte-Marthe wrote him a rhymed epistle in the form of a *coq à l'âne* — "A Jean Ferron. Coq a Lasne." *P. F.*, p. 141. I suppose him identical with the Jean Ferron of Poitiers called to Geneva in 1548 and deposed the following year on account of his scandalous life. He was one of the informers who reported conversations of La Mare, convicting him of animosity toward Calvin, in consequence of which the latter insisted upon La Mare's deposition from the ministry. *Cf. La France Prot.*, 2d ed., Vol. VII, p. 238; Buisson speaks of Ferron as in Geneva in 1544, and mentions also his deposition. *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 212 and 218.

[2] *Cf.* Breton's "I too," *infra*, p. 35.

"On s'ebahist que ie n'ay respondu
Par mes escripts à tous mes Envieux:
Et je responds que Dieu a defendu
Pour se venger, dicts contumelieux.
Quand l'eust permis, encore j'ayme mieux
Ne faire d'eulx aulcune mention,
Et, en celà, c'est mon intention,
Les mesprisant, maintenir ma coustume.
Je sens aussi, que telle nation
Est en tout cas indigne de ma plume."

— "*A Jean Ferron, pourquoy n'a respondu a ses adversaires,*" *P. F.*, p. 15.

Unfriendly rumors did not prevent Sainte-Marthe from obtaining his theological degree, probably early in 1537,[1] and he was also received doctor of law, having first distinguished himself brilliantly in those public arguments which were the necessary preliminary to that step.[2] Congratulations on this honor were offered him by Robert Breton, with whom he at this time renewed

[1] Had the letter in which Breton refers to it been written during 1536, unless at the very end, it would probably have been included in the volume published in that year. Moreover, his phrase, "multis annis," referring to the period during which he had lost sight of Sainte-Marthe, seems to imply at least more than a fraction of one. They had been in touch in December, 1535.

[2] Dreux du Radier, *loc. cit.*

relations. Sainte-Marthe seems to have written a warning or remonstrance to his friend on courses which were being harshly condemned. "It is little to be wondered at," Breton writes in his reply, "that I have not been able to get you out of my memory, since I ever lived most pleasantly and desirably with you at Bordeaux. The thing at which I cannot sufficiently marvel is this, that you could have come to fear that this could ever happen; but the defense of this whole doubt is easy and obvious, since for many years past" — this appears to be an affectionate exaggeration on Breton's part — "for many years past you did not know where I was; nor was I myself certain where you were living. What you write, that my doings are blamed by many, I bear with ease, and so far endure without annoyance. For it is difficult to 'disarm Momus.' I too have had my ears beset with the insolence of detractors who, from day to day, try to inspire fear not only by their will to harm, but by their weight and number and the very amplitude of their resources. I have decided, however, to bear all that can be borne; but if I find myself invaded and overwhelmed by them

with greater outrage, I shall take courage, and, so far as modesty permits, make answer to them in such measure as may suffice. It is naturally a joy to me that you have been elected into the body of theologians. It were pleasanter still should your work, in explaining that divine and excellent art, gain abundant fruits, not only of other things praiseworthy and greatly worth seeking, but also of honor and glory.

"What shall I say of myself? You inspired me with no slight desire of imitating you when you set off to your own country. I think, I know not why, only of that one thing, abandoning my other chosen interests, which are very considerable. And, in a manner, I rejoice to think that 'nothing is sweeter than a man's country and father and mother.' Soon, however, I hope to see you. If Roullet happens to be at Poitiers, greet him for me; I should have written to him, were I certainly assured that he were there. Farewell." [1]

[1] For the text, *cf.* p. 602 *et seq.*

CHAPTER II

PROFESSORSHIP; DISGRACE; SOUTHERN PEREGRINATIONS

THE wish expressed by Breton was to be almost immediately fulfilled. Sainte-Marthe shortly obtained the post of Regius Professor of theology at the university, after a flattering interview with Francis I and his sister. He had seen the King and Marguerite as a child, on the occasion of a royal visit to Fontevrault in 1517,[1] when Francis, accompanied by the Queen of Navarre and her husband, Louise de Savoie and the Queen, brought his illegitimate sister, Magdeleine d'Orléans, Abbess of Jouarre, to Fontevrault to profit by the reforms there accomplished; and now, at the opening of his career, he was again brought to the notice of the Queen, who exercised so potent an influence on his life and of whom he has left so vivid a picture. About this time Sainte-Marthe also engaged the interest of the

[1] *Cart. Fontis Ebraldi, cit. supra*, fol. 355 r°.

King's daughter, Marguerite de France; for in 1540 he writes to remind her of her promise to him four years earlier:

"Je ne scay point, Madame, si depuis
Qu'en ceste croix (quatre ans a) tumbé suis
Si grand malheur m'est bien peu advenir
De n'estre plus en vostre soubvenir.
Il est possible (ainsi qu'un long espace
Communement nostre memoire efface)
Possible est (dy je) aussi, que ne scavez
Le serviteur que retenu avez."

—*A Madame Marguerite, fille unique du Roy, P. F.*, p. 123.

Whatever hopes Sainte-Marthe may have founded upon her interest were unfulfilled, —

". . . ce grand heur ne m'est onq' advenu
Que j'ays esté des vostres retenu,"

— *Ibid.*, p. 124.

but at least he had cause to realize Marguerite's kindness of heart,

"Qu'il n'y a rien dans vostre noble cœur
Qu'humanité et toute grand douceur;"

— *Ibid.*, p. 123.

and it may well be that her interest had its weight in inclining her father to look favorably upon the young scholar. The actual date

of the appointment is uncertain, as is the place of the interview, which possibly took place at or near Amiens in March, 1537, for the King was in that vicinity, and his sister, in all probability, joined him there in the course of the month.[1]

Established in his chair and "girded for the performance of his calling," Sainte-Marthe gave himself up to the composition of a theological work and also began his lectures. And now, encouraged by the liberal trend of thought in the university and the religious leanings of some of its professors, relying also, no doubt, upon the security of his own position as direct appointee

[1] *Cf. Catalogue des Actes de François I;* Génin, *Nouvelles Lettres de la Reine de Navarre,* nos. 80 and 81; and *Lettres de Marguerite d'Angoulême,* nos. 132 and 133. The dates of the letters, however, are the editor's, and not wholly reliable. It is possible that Sainte-Marthe received his appointment in 1536; but, among other things, the omission of all three of Breton's letters of congratulation (*cf.* pp. 36, 48, and 49) from his volume of 1536 and their insertion in that of 1540 make against this. In this case the interview would have been in the south, where the king spent the year campaigning and where his sister joined him more than once, as for instance in July at Lyons. Archives de la ville de Lyon. BB. Reg. 55, *cit.* La Ferrière-Percy, *Marguerite d'Angoulême,* etc., p. 5, and Génin, *Lettres de Marguerite d'Angoulême,* nos. 115, 116, 121, 127.

of the king, he threw discretion to the winds and gave just cause of complaint to minds already exasperated against him. So we learn from a letter,[1] inspired by news of the publication of the *Religionis Christianæ Institutio*,[2] which he despatched to Calvin in April. Nothing could better illustrate his entire absence of caution. "There are many considerations, most learned Calvin," he writes, "which might, with the best reason, check me as I prepare to write to you, and dissuade me altogether. These, should I name them, you will perchance hold to be vulgar and customarily offered in this sort of self-accusation; still, they are of weight to me who, profoundly conscious of them, perceive well enough how he makes traffic of his repute who dares in letters to chatter to men of your sort, so intelligent, so keen of perception, so accomplished in all work, and to interrupt serious studies and importune in this

[1] *Carolus Sammarthanus sacrarum literarum in Pictaviensi Achademia regius professor, D. Joanni Calvino Lausanensi Ecclesiastæ, viro pio juxtà et erudito.* Herminjard, *Correspondence des Réformateurs*, Vol. IV, No. 625.

[2] The first (Latin) edition had appeared at Basle in March, 1536.

manner ears so delicate. For, besides being known to you neither by sight nor by name, I feel that I lack everything most needful to writing and speaking. And yet, I am at such a point of daring that I doubt nothing less than the satisfaction of my wishes, since our common friend Normand, who is responsible for the daring, assures me of satisfaction on the ground of your singular humanity. This I hope will be propitious to me in the common name of letters, and because of the closer bond of the same studies, — to which add the burning desire of piety. Nor is it likely that any man who is in himself gracious and very humane will refuse what does not violate the law of Christian friendship. Besides, what I seek from you by letter looks only to Christ and to the majesty of his word, namely, that, since in the same profession there is the same will and conjunction of spirits, you will certainly write down Sainte-Marthe in the number of your friends and with that medicine will refresh him in his sickness.

"It shall not be my care now, in the manner of the carnal, to make straight for myself the way to your love with praise of your divine

virtue and piety, whereby moved you held as nought kinsfolk and country and wealth, and made yourself naked, that you might make others rich, in great peril of your life the while. And, although I cannot doubt that it must turn out for those like you as for you — that is, happily, — still, for my part, I should wish that there were many Calvins, many with Calvin's talents, many even who would thus kindly receive the imitators of Calvin. I envy you nothing, but I am afflicted for this only, that you were snatched away from us,[1] and that that other speaking Calvin, namely the *Institutio Christiana*, has not reached us. I envy Germany because we cannot obtain what she can. There is perhaps this comfort here, that our academy is free and full of pious and learned men; but meanwhile, here and there, the hydra is born again and rises by night to sow tares, although I gird myself by the gift of the grace of Christ for the office of my calling. This, partly by reason of my

[1] Herminjard regards Sainte-Marthe's silence on the subject as evidence that Florimond de Rœmond, Merle d'Aubigné and Bonnet exaggerated Calvin's previous relations with Poitiers evangelicals. *Op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 223.

new dignity and my youth, and also of my zeal for doctrine, has brought forth informers against me, cowled and aghast at phantoms, most desperate portents of fate, to whom I shall so little yield that I will set even life itself against the compunction of the spirit whenever the Lord allows. We pray the Lord that your most happy fortune may progress in the right way. For your part, intercede for us that the spirit of Christ may be given to us to preach worthily and courageously, amid flames and enemies, that gospel of whose progress here you shall learn from Estienne,[1] bearer of this letter, — a man learned in Greek and Latin, modest and eloquent, a lover of truth, on his way to you that he may have leave to speak and learn freely. Him, in the name of country and the piety of the gospel, I piously commend to you. Conciliate for us where you are the same friends,

[1] Were it not that so reliable an authority as Herminjard notes this Stephanus as unidentified, one would be tempted to suppose that Robert Estienne took steps towards retiring to Geneva at this early date, thirteen years before actually doing so. The combination of the name with classical erudition and evangelical leanings is, at least, singular.

and approve our daring. Jesus our Lord God support your deeds and long preserve you, filled with his grace, safe to preach his gospel. Poitiers. In haste. April the 10th, 1537. Your brother in Christ, C. Sām."

This letter leaves no doubt as to the state of Sainte-Marthe's sympathies, and its concluding words imply that the writer had foreseen the consequences of his own course and was prepared to meet them. Yet such — as his later life shows — was hardly the case. Enthusiastic and impulsive, one of Calvin's despised "Nicodemites" moreover, who "convertissent à demy la chrestienté en philosophie," and "imaginent des idées platoniques en leur têtes,"[1] Sainte-Marthe was chiefly preoccupied with the spiritual life and no doubt, like others, failed to apprehend the full import or even the general tendency of Calvin's teaching. The *Religionis Christianæ Institutio* was not yet, we see from Sainte-Marthe's letter, in general circulation. Its editions had been almost immediately exhausted[2]

[1] *Excuse . . . à Messieurs les Nicodemites*, col. 600.

[2] For the rapid exhaustion of the editions of the *Chris. Rel. Inst.*, *cf.* Herminjard, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 223, note 5.

and it was not readily accessible. A certain vagueness, which the "Lycurgus of Christianity" [1] had in that work swept away forever, was at this date still possible; and even when its content was apprehended, the question was still to many minds one of a return to the true sources in religion as in literature. To those engaged in it, the religious struggle must have appeared a battle less between reformers and constituted authority than between two parties within the Catholic church. Indeed the "evangelicals" counted among them many of authority in church and state. From time to time, it is true, men who favored reform fell victims to the vacillating policy of persecution, not defined nor consistent until the decade which ended with François' death; [2] but this seemed to the innovators the fruit of misunderstanding, the work of "enemies," not the active arm of authority dealing with rebels. In 1535 Calvin could still appeal to the king against the fury

[1] "Le Christianisme eut son Lycurgue." Lerminier, Rev. des deux Mondes, 1842, p. 515.

[2] *I.e.* after the interview at Aigues Mortes in July, 1538. For the king's general policy in regard to the religious situation, *cf.* Buisson, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 66–77.

of "aucuns iniques," could still feel that François would not proceed severely, once he understood it, against "la doctrine laquelle ils estiment devoir estre punie par prison, banissement, proscription et feu";[1] and this in the dedication of the very book which was to define the new doctrine with a clearness leaving a man in no possible doubt as to whether or not his opinions coincided with those of the new "reform." At the time Sainte-Marthe lectured in Poitiers, recollections of the "affair of the placards"[2] was still fresh in men's minds; but, though the innocent had suffered, the provocation was great even in the eyes of the

[1] *Au Roy de France treschrestien*, etc.; *Institution de la Religion Chrétienne*, cols. 9 and 10. The first Latin edition was published in 1536. The dedicatory letter, when prefixed to the French version of 1541 (based on a Latin edition of 1539), retained the date 1535. In fact its date, "le premier jour d'Aoust," is three weeks earlier than the original, "x Calendas Septembres."

[2] Of the 29th of January, 1535. *Cf.* on this subject, *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris*, pp. 441–447. On the same day the king issued an edict against heretics, condemning those who harbored them to the same punishment as they, and promising informers a quarter of their confiscated possessions. *Actes de François I*, no. 7486.

"evangelicals," [1] and since then the cruel edict of January, 1535, had been annulled [2] and a period of leniency had followed, — the period of the letter to Melancthon,[3] of Marot's recall from exile and of conciliatory edicts concerning heretics.[4] Caution, then, was lulled, and it is probable, besides, that Sainte-Marthe was hurried farther than he had foreseen by enthusiasm for his subject and by the excitement of the applause aroused by his rhetorical gifts; for he was "auræ popularis avidior" [5] according to his nephew Scévole.

In any event, the young lecturer was undisturbed for some months. In October he received another letter from Breton, written from Bordeaux. Breton had, it appears, written meanwhile asking advice or help. He had now heard the bare news of his friend's appointment

[1] Sturm spoke of the authors of the outrage as "furiosi" and "stultissimi homines," *cit.* Chastel, *Histoire du Christianisme*, Vol. IV, p. 107.

[2] By the edict of Coucy, July 16, 1535. *Actes de François I*, no. 7990.

[3] Of June the 23rd, 1535. *Cf.* Herminjard, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 301.

[4] Of May the 31st and June the 30th, 1536. *Actes de François I*, nos. 8476 and 21,077.

[5] *Gallorum . . . illustrium . . . Elogia. Cf.* p. 515.

and offered congratulations: "Although, while awaiting your opinion on those matters concerning which I begged it in my previous letter, I ought not to trouble you with a new one, yet, since a man most devoted to both of us, though principally filled with love of you, is setting off in your direction, I cannot bring myself not to send you anything of a letter. You will decide about my affairs, as I wrote to you lately. Whatever you do will be as grateful as if it were the most agreeable. I congratulate you on your professorship. That brilliant honour of yours refreshes me daily more and more. Farewell. Bordeaux. Oct. 12th." [1]

Who was the friend who brought this letter? Conjecture at least suggests Visagier, who published a volume of epigrams in Paris in 1538, and may have been on his way there to attend to this.[2] That volume contains an epigram addressed to Sainte-Marthe. It speaks of the advantages of Sainte-Marthe's situation and of

[1] For the text, *cf.* p. 603.

[2] All that is known of Visagier's movements at this time is his presence at the banquet to Dolet in Paris in March, 1537, his probable presence in Lyons about the middle of the year, when he published his second book

the writer's affection for him. It would be carrying logs to the forest, Visagier assures him, to give Sainte-Marthe money,— gems, too, weigh down the latter's fingers, whereas no single one gleams upon his own hand. As for books, his library holds few books and he has none which his friend has not. Garments? He has only one, and that not fitted to Sainte-Marthe's shoulders. Even his heart, he concludes, is already his friend's. He can give nothing but this assurance that he is unable to give.[1]

Meanwhile Sainte-Marthe had answered Breton's earlier letter, giving him, it would appear, the advice asked, adding an account of the details of his own appointment and mentioning his theological work. Breton replied in an undated letter[2] delivered to Sainte-Marthe by no less a person than the younger Gouvéa. "You write to me," he says, "that you were received with incredible honor and warmth by the king and his sister that most admired and elect

of epigrams there (Copley Christie, *op. cit.*, p. 314), and his equally conjectural presence, for the same reason, in Paris in 1538.

[1] For the text, *cf.* p. 610.

[2] For the text, *cf.* p. 603 *et seq.*

woman, Marguerite. This was extremely grateful to me, not only because I have always considered you most worthy of honor on account of the scope of your intelligence, but because, considering your habit and life and very accomplished style, I am, as it were, refreshed and revived when I hear that those things have befallen you which are due by common consent to the virtue and constancy of the excellent and modest. That, in truth, delighted me much, as indeed was natural, but still more, that the same king honorably, and no less kindly, invited you to the profession of sacred letters, adding a very sufficient and honorable wage for the reward of your glorious labors. It is a profession full of consideration, dignity and credit, and by it we are reconciled not only to men, which in itself however, is a great thing, but, what is far greater, to divine providence. The thing you urge upon me, to devote myself to this study, I am in fact sedulously engaged upon; but I shall do so more exactly and zealously after I seem to have made sufficient progress in Greek literature. 'Fool,' say you, 'who neglect this most easy study for the sake of one so weighty and prolific.' Not in

the least. I am neither doing this with the thought of abandoning the one for the sake of the other, nor do I consider such a course in any wise tolerable. But, since I seem likely more easily to excel in the first if I know the other study, I have decided to give a little more time to it. When I have done this, I shall return to theology as to the safest and best port for all cares and anxieties. I approve what you say of my business, for I greatly wished that it might so turn out, and it seemed likely to be of the utmost importance in my affair. Still I beg you again and again not to neglect it. Possibly, if it is convenient, I shall shortly hasten to you on my way straight to Paris, and then all can be freely discussed between us. As to the theological book which you mention at the same time, I earnestly desire you to give it to me as soon as it is reproduced and published. Of myself I can write nothing further than what I have mentioned above; that I am thinking daily of Paris, but various rumors of war have alarmed me, lest I can hardly effect what I have set myself to do. Everything in good time however.

"The last thing is one you wish to know, whether the report of the death of Durasius be true. Know that he is at Bordeaux and was never in better health; but I believe that men not without wit, nor altogether lacking literature, continually spread this report because he lately failed in a lawsuit. The controversy was about his wife. Now, because he is cast down from that hope which he set before himself and so greatly embraced, they feign that he is dead. That saying of Cato's is known to us and not, I think, unheard of by you, that the soul of a lover lives in the body of another. I would commend to you my messenger, were not his learning and talent, and even, by Hercules, that elegance, which is at its greatest in him, enough to commend him. He is the brother of our Gouvéa. I have given your letter to Cordier and Zebedée. I hope that you will write to me as often as possible. If I remain — and so far, as I said, I have no certainty about this — I shall overwhelm you with the frequency and prolixity of my letters. Farewell."

It is probable that the friends did not meet; for it must have been shortly after this that

Sainte-Marthe's behavior provoked the authorities beyond endurance. Perhaps, when he saw the storm he had aroused, he made some effort at retraction, or at least hedged. Bèze's words suggest it: "Et par ces moiens l'ardeur de quelques uns creut tellement que l'an 1537 un jeune homme nomme Saincte Martre, l'un des fils du premier medicin du Roy, homme de gaillard esprit, commença à faire des lectures en theologie, mais pource qu'il n'avoit point de fond, et qu'à la verité y avoit en luy plus de legereté que de vray zele, il y eut en son faict plus de fumée que de feu." [1] In any case he suffered no worse punishment than the obligation "de quitter sa patrie et se retirer au pays étranger," [2] an event which one of his friends, A. de Villeneuve,[3] lamented in verse:

"Si tu scavois, ô Ville de Poictiers
Ce que tu as en un moment perdu:
Tu te mettrois en effort voluntiers
A celle fin que te fust tost rendu.
Ton Honneur as, & ton salut vendu,
Changeant le tien, à un sot estranger:

[1] *Hist. Ecc.*, Vol. I, p. 63. [2] *Généalogie*, fol. 21 v°.

[3] Unidentified. *A. de Villeneufve, à la Ville de Poictiers, sur le departement de S. Marthe. Livre de ses Amys, Poesie Francoise*, p. 236.

Si tu avois ton vray bien entendu
Helas, qu'amair te seroit le changer."

Driven from Poitiers, Sainte-Marthe wandered for a year or two in "maintes lieux," where he suffered, according to his friend the duc de Montausier, "plusieurs adverses fortunes." [1] These places must have been the Dauphiné, Provence and Languedoc, for in 1540, when he published his volume of verse, Sainte-Marthe evidently had a wide acquaintance in those regions. He may have been at Lyons in 1538 with Marot; [2] and it must have been at Vienne that he entered into intimate relations with the three brothers Grolée-Mévouillon, of a distinguished and ancient family [3] whose grandfather had been lieutenant-general of the Dau-

[1] *Cf.* p. 600.

[2] That Sainte-Marthe was in Lyons before his, later, brief stay in 1540 is indicated by his large and intimate acquaintance there, and especially by the familiarity of his poems of 1540 to Dolet, to Dalechamps, to the Scèves, above all to Maurice, his "trescher amy Scève," to Tolet, his "singulier amy," etc.

[3] *Cf. Dict. de la Noblesse*, Vol. IX, p. 893. Bull. de la Soc. d'Archéologie de la Drôme, Vol. XXIV, p. 284. Guy Allard, *Bibliothèque du Dauphiné*, I, p. 199. *Gallia Christiana*, Vol. XVI, col. 160 D. Bull. de la Soc. de Statistique de l'Isère, Vol. XXVI, p. 7. Guy Allard,

phiné, and their father, Aimar-Antoine, bailiff of its mountains, distinguished in the early wars of Francis I. To Antoine, the eldest, Baron of Bressieux and Argilliers, Sainte-Marthe addressed several poems, one in praise of friendship in general, desiring his in particular:

". . . amytié telle que veoyons estre
Entre un Valet & son Seigneur & Maistre." [1]

He expressed his feelings for the second brother François,[2] in a poem, *A noble Seigneur, Monsieur Francois de Muillion, seigneur de Ribbiers,*

Hist. généalogique de la Maison de Grolée, Grenoble, 1688, pp. 12 and 29. Mermet, *Hist. de Vienne*, Vienne, 1853, *passim*.

[1] *P. F.*, pp. 170–172. The others addressed to him are *Dequoy nous sommes au Monde debiteurs*, *P. F.*, p. 72, *D'un qui mesdisoit de luy en son absence*, *P. F.*, p. 59, *De la misere de proces*, *P. F.*, p. 29. Seigneur also of Serres, Neyrieu, Juis, Cornillon, Antoine de Grolée died without offspring, bequeathing his possessions — by a will dated September the 4th, 1544 — to his brother Aimar-François.

[2] *Seigneur* also of Lauris, Puget, Baume, Falevaux, Cordon, Ruinat, Sainte-Colombe, Pinet and Barret, *Chevalier de l'ordre du Roy*, and gentleman of the king's chamber. He married Catherine d'Oraison, and left five children. A letter of his, signed "Bressieux," is still extant, written in 1553, addressed to the duke of Guise, assuring him that Grolée had notified the court of Grenoble of the duke's wish for the severe punishment of heretics.

en le remerciant des biens qu'il luy à faictz, and in a long epistle full of genuine affection, *A Monsieur de Ribbiers*.[1] The third brother,[2] Anne or Annet, afterwards abbot of the monastery of S. Pierre de Vienne,[3]

"Abbé tresvenerable,
Sur tous Prelats la floeur incomparable,"

was the third Grolée since 1511 to hold that office. He, like his brothers, showed Sainte-Marthe innumerable kindnesses, enough indeed to cause envious comment in the countryside, as his protegé reminds him:

"J'ay tant receu, que la main liberale
En a esmeu la nation ruralle,
Car quelques Sots, ne cognoissants pourquoy
Il vous plaisoit faire estime de moy,
Et me jugeants, par leur trop grosse teste,
Qu'estre debuois (comme un chascun d'eulx) beste,
Ont contre moy, à la fin machiné," etc.
— *A. R. Père en Dieu, Monseigneur Anne de Grolée, abbé de S. Pierre de Vienne. P. F.*, pp. 167 and 168.

[1] *P. F.*, pp. 34 and 188. He addressed to him also a *huitain, Qu'il fault esprouver l'amy, P. F.*, p. 73.

[2] The Grolées had one other brother, Laurent, and three sisters.

[3] Abbot until 1560. In 1547, when Henri II, to reward the loyalty of the town, ordered the heart of the Dauphin

Sainte-Marthe formed friendships, also, with other kinsmen of the Grolées, with their great aunt, Antoinette de Bressieux, a nun, later on abbess of Vernaison;[1] with Exupère[2] and Louis de Claveyson, respectively *Seigneur* and

to be buried at Vienne, Anne de Grolée was commissioned to go to Tournon to fetch it.

[1] Sainte-Marthe wrote her a rondeau, *A Madame l'Abesse de Vernaison*, *P. F.*, p. 100. *Cf. Gallia Christiana*, Vol. XVI, p. 354; *Dictionnaire de la Noblesse*, Vol. IX, p. 892, art. *Grolée*.

[2] Sainte-Marthe wrote him four poems: *Au Seigneur de Parnans. De quelcun qui disoit qu'il aymoit trop s'Amye*, *P. F.*, p. 31; *Au Seigneur de Parnans. Qu'aujourdhuy on est plus obeissant à Vice qu'à Vertu*, *P. F.*, p. 87; *Au Seigneur de Parnans. Quoy que deux Amys se separent l'un de l'aultre, que toutefoy, sont tousjours presents*, *P. F.*, p. 35; *A noble Exupere de Claveyson, Seigneur de Parnans, responce à son Dixain*, *P. F.*, p. 24. Thè *dixain* in question was contributed by Claveyson to the *Livre de ses Amys*, *P. F.*, p. 223. For a curious controversy about the existence of this person, *cf.* La Croix du Maine, *Bib. Franc.*, with La Monnoye's note; Rochas, *Biog. du Dauphiné;* Allard, *Bib. du Dauphiné;* J. Vossier, Bull. de la Soc. d'Arch. de la Drôme, Vol. XV, p. 63; and A. Lacroix, *Exupère de Claveison et Blaise Volet*, *ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 166. Exupère de Claveyson was, in fact, the son of Guillaume de Claveyson. His mother, Phillipine de Bressieux, dame de Parnans, bore her father's name and arms and bequeathed them by will to her son, Exupère, who took the name of Bressieux. He was twice married, and his will is dated the 12th of February, 1561.

Prieur[1] of Parnans; with the abbess of Laval, a Cistercian convent of the Bressieux foundation.[2] To her Sainte-Marthe addressed a poem, *A Madame l'Abesse de la val en Daulphiné, estant Malade*,[3] curiously insisting on the power of the will in sickness. Among other friends were Anne d'Arbigny, lady of the same Laval,[4] and her *maitre d'hotel*, Seigneur de la Rivière.[5] At Vienne, too, Sainte-Marthe formed ties with Pierre de Marillac, abbot of Pontigny,[6] brother

[1] Sainte-Marthe thus addressed him: *A Frere L. de Claveyson, prieur de Parnans. Que l'habit ne fait pas le Moyne. P. F.*, p. 60.

[2] *Cf. Gallia Christiana*, Vol. XV, p. 212, and Guy Allard, *Dict. du Dauphiné.*

[3] *P. F.*, p. 28.

[4] Sainte-Marthe's rondeau to her on the subject of her name, *A Madame Anne d'arbigny Dame de la Val en Daulphiné, P. F.*, p. 89, leaves room for the conjecture that she and the abbess of Laval were one and the same. The tone of Marot's epigram to this lady, however, hardly suggests it. *Cf. Œuvres*, Vol. IV, p. 58. Longuemare, *op. cit.*, gives the name as d'Albigny, but assigns no reason for the change.

[5] *Au Seigneur de la Riviere Maistre d'hotel de Madame de la Val. Comment on doibt estre cault à faire un Amy. P. F.*, p. 96.

[6] *A P. de Marillac, Comment on doibt prendre ce terme Fortune. P. F.*, p. 10. He was converted to Protestantism at the age of forty and retired to Geneva.

of the famous Charles de Marillac, later on Archbishop of Vienne;[1] and it was probably here that he made the acquaintance of the Chevalier Grenet, his "frere et Amy perfaict."[2]

He endeared himself also to other Dauphinois, to Paule de Fay d'Estable and his sister;[3] to Frere I. Marron, "Amy Marron;"[4] to Madame de Molans; and to Mdlle. Beconne,[5] — obviously a great lady, — who admired his talents and to

[1] *I.e.* after 1557. *Rē* the brothers Marillac, *cf. La France Protestante;* Aigueperse, *Biog. d'Auvergne; Dict. de la Noblesse.* The *Généalogie de la Maison de Sainte-Marthe, cit. supra,* names the Marillacs in a *Table des Maisons alliées à celle de Sainte-Marthe.*

[2] Unidentified. I have supposed the name identical with Granet, that of a family near Vienne. *Cf.* Bull. de la Soc. d'Arch. de la Drôme, Vol. XXVII, p. 250.

[3] *A noble Paule de Fay Seigneur d'Estables. P. F.*, p. 79. *A Madamoiselle d'Estable, sa seur d'alience. P. F.*, p. 159. *Cf.* Guy Allard, *Nobiliaire du Dauphiné,* art. *Fay,* and *Bib. du Dauphiné,* Vol. II, p. 455.

[4] *A F. I. Marron, pourquoy le vray bien est interdit. P. F.*, p. 56. *Rē* Marron, *cf. La France Prot.*, 2d ed., Vol. VII, p. 316 a.

[5] *A Madamoiselle de Beconne. P. F.*, p. 193. A certain de Beconne, presumably the father or grandfather of the lady in question, was captain of 500 men, governor of Dun-le-roi and Crest in 1485, and in 1503 *maitre des eaux et forets* of Dauphiné. Bull. de la Soc. d'Arch. de la Drôme, Vol. VII, p. 13, and Vol. VIII, p. 36.

whom he offered poetical homage of a platonic sort. He visited Vaucluse,[1] and at Avignon he frequented Pierre Paschal.[2] It is less certain where he encountered Guillaume Bigot,[3] a man whom, at that time, all the learned world delighted to honor. Bigot published his *Somnium* in Paris in 1537, and between that date and the end of 1540, when he settled at Nîmes, his restless travels carried him into the Lyonnais, Dauphiné, Piedmont and Italy. His friendship for Sainte-Marthe was of a somewhat captious order. He had no sympathy with a desire to compose verse on the part of a man who should properly devote himself

[1] The poem *Sur la fontaine de Vaucluse pres laquelle jadis habita Petrarche. P. F.*, p. 21, leads to this conclusion. *Cf.* p. 535.

[2] "Audii Petrum Paschalium virum eruditissimum & mihi aliquando Avenione cognitum, statuisse Reginae vitam litteris mandare." Sainte-Marthe *in obitum . . . Margaritæ . . . oratio funebris. Candido lectori*, p. 4. *Cf. infra*, p. 587.

[3] *Cf.*, rē Bigot, M. J. Gaufrès, *Claude Baduel et la Réforme des Etudes au XVI^e siècle.* Bayle, *Dict. Hist. & Critique*, remarks, "On imprima quelques uns de ses vers françois avec les Poésies de Charles de Sainte-Marthe oncle de Scévole." The "quelques uns" resolve themselves into one long poem; *Epistre de Bigotius à Saincte-Marthe*, in the *Livre de ses Amys. P. F.*, p. 229. It is reprinted by Gaufrès, p. 313.

". . . aux Sciences,
Desquelles as du Seigneur les semences."
— *P. F.*, p. 229.

Sainte-Marthe, however, had for Bigot the utmost admiration, considered him "tres consommé en Philosophie" and addressed him as "Vray Philosophe et de tiltre et de faict."[1] Yet another friend was Léon de Saint-Maur, the old duke of Montausier;[2] and the fact may indicate that Sainte-Marthe traveled as far south as Hyères, whence Saint-Maur later dated a friendly letter to him.[3]

It was at Arles, however, that he formed the most lasting ties, probably in the course of the year 1538. Besides forming an intimate friendship with Antoine Arlier,[4] lieutenant at Arles of

[1] In a rondeau, *A Guillaume Bigot homme trescon-sommé en Philosophie* with the refrain, "Vray Philosophe." *P. F.*, p. 93.

[2] Second duke of his name. He had done homage for his lands in 1479. *Cf. Dict. de la Noblesse*, Vol. XVIII, p. 201, and Moreri, *Le grand Dict. historique*. In his letter to Sainte-Marthe he is called Léon de Saint More *dit* de Monthozier, doubtless a printer's error, as there is no doubt of his identity.

[3] *Cf. infra*. pp. 93 and 600.

[4] *Rē* Arlier, *cf.* Picot, *Rabelais à Aigues Mortes*, Rev. des Et. Rab., 1905, pp. 333–335 and J. L. Gerig, *Notes*

the Seneschal of Provence, and entering into friendly relations with Michel de Saint-Jean, "jeune homme de grand jugement sans lettres," [1] and with at least one member of the family de la Tour,[2] Sainte-Marthe made acquaintance, epistolatory if nothing more, with "noble Loys de Sainct Martin."[3] The latter had laid him under profound obligations by the tender of a lively and welcome sympathy in his misfortunes, and Sainte-Marthe expressed his sense of obligation in verse:

"A vous je suis debiteur d'une debte
De tant hault pris, qui si c'estoit recepte
D'or ou d'argent, voire & encores plus,
Je le confesse, or il reste au surplus.
* * * * *
Vu avez sceu ce, qui m'est survenu,
Et par pitié de mon grand infortune,
Ma passion vous a esté commune."

— *A noble Loys de sainct Martin d'Arles, luy estant malade.* *P. F.*, p. 139.

sur Raulin Séguier . . . et sur Antoine Arlier, Annales du Midi, October, 1909, p. 483.

[1] *A Michel de sainct Jhean d'Arles, jeune homme de grand jugement sans lettres.* *P. F.*, p. 27.

[2] *A Madame Magdaleine de la Tour sa Sœur d'Alliance.* *P. F.*, p. 70. There was a family of this name at Arles.

[3] Possibly the Sanctus Martinus who was a corre-

He made at Arles also acquaintance with two men of more importance in his life: with Jacques de Raynaud Sieur d'Alein [1] and with the learned monk Denis Faucher.[2] Alein, a citizen of distinction "bien instruit aux Sainctes Ecritures & docte en droit civil" according to Theo-

spondent of Breton's. *Cf. Rob. Britanni Epist. libri tres*, fol. 83 r°.

[1] Spelled variously Alein, Allein, Alen, Alenc. For his share in Chassanée's unwillingness to execute the decree of 1540 against the Vaudois *cf.* Crespin's *Histoire des martyrs persecutez & mis à mort pour la verité de l'Evangile*, etc.; Theodore de Bèze, *Hist. Ecc.*, Vol. I, p. 38; *La France Prot. arts. Raynaud* (Guillaume) and *Masson* (Pierre); *cf.* also Gaufrès, *op. cit.*, pp. 197 *et seq.* and 222–225.

[2] Of an honorable family of Arles, Faucher was "professed" monk at St. Benedict de Padolinore at Mantua in 1508. Transferred to the island of Lerina, when the monastery there was reformed and united to the sacred college of St. Justin of Padua, he devoted himself to the study of the works of St. Paul. Said to be as erudite in the "humanities" as in theology, he was, besides, skilled in painting. At the command of Cardinal du Bellay he undertook the reform of the monastery of St. Nicholas of Tarascon, which belonged to the Lerina congregation. He was author of religious treatises, poems, hymns, sermons and works on the reform of monasteries and died in 1562 at the age of 70. *Cf. Chronologia Sanctorum . . . Sacræ Insulæ Lerinensis*, p. 222. *Compendium vitæ Reverendi Patris Domini Dionisii Faucherii, auctoris præsentis operis & monachi Lerinensis.*

dore de Bèze, the friend of men in public life if not himself of national reputation, had at least liberal religious inclinations and also evidently sympathized with Sainte-Marthe on the famous question of woman, which preoccupied various literary men of the time.[1] Allein's influence, in so far as it leaned towards the new reform, was assuredly offset by that of Denis Faucher, a humanist,[2] whose loyalty to the church was of a stern and determined sort. Occupied in carrying out his monastic reforms at the neighboring Tarascon, Faucher must from time to time have visited his native Arles, and it was probably at this time that Sainte-Marthe entered upon an admiring affection[3] which almost embarrassed the older man.

Love as well as friendship glorified Arles for Sainte-Marthe. Of the object of his passion, Mademoiselle Beringue or Beringue de Loytaulde, we know only what her lover has told us. She

[1] *A Monsieur d'Alein d'Arles. Que l'homme medisant de la Femme medict de soy mesme.* *P. F.*, p. 14.

[2] Among his correspondents were the Cardinals du Bellay, Charles de Lorraine, and Sadolet, Bigot, Vulteius, Macrin, Dampièrre.

[3] *Cf.* pp. 90 and 608.

was poor and, in Sainte-Marthe's eyes, beautiful in her "tendre et premiere jeunesse," and she took him with a smile:

"Par un soubris qui rien ne me sembloit
Et seulement entour la bouche aloit
Qui m'eust predit que j'eusse ceste peine?
Un Ris a il puissance si haultaine
De captiver celuy là qui le veoit?
— *A Madamoiselle Gacinette Loytaulde, Mere de Beringue s'Amye.* *P. F.*, p. 88.

He has left a lively description of her charms:

"Vostre Beaulté, en ce n'y a rien fait,
Quoy qu'Œuvre soit de Nature perfaict,
Œuvre divin, & splendeur Angelique.
Encores moins Desir, qui fust lubrique.
Vostre vertu seule m'y a induit,
Et par Amour tres honneste conduit,
Une doulceur en vous tresgenuine,
Une Bonté traicte en Face benigne,
Et (qui a fait plus ferme le lyen)
Un sentiment, du tout semblable au mien.
— *A Madamoiselle Beringue, De leur honneste & irreprehensible Amour.* *P. F.*, p. 147.

There were rivals and mischief makers, but the lovers' mutual affection remained firm:

"Puisque m'aymez, & aymer je vous veulx,
Nos deux vouloirs (au plaisir des haults Dieux)
Ensemble joincts, auront toute puissance.

Or poursuivons d'une grande constance.
Quoy que sur nous machinent Envieux
C'est pour neant."

— *A Madamoiselle Beringue, Que leur Amour ne se pourra minuer pour les mesdisants.* *P. F.*, p. 86.

Nor did the gossips spare Sainte-Marthe on the subject of the small portion Mdlle. Beringue was likely to bring her lover:

"Les mesdisans m'ont souvent fait reproche
Qu'elle ne peut me donner le grand bien."

He kept to his determination, however: "Jasent leur saoul," he exclaims,

"leur parler ne me touche,
Elle me plaist, je m'en contente bien.
Il ne fault donc qu'ilz estiment, combien
Qu'elle n'ait pas grand rente & grand avoir,
Que je delaisse en faire mon debvoir
De mettre fin à ma premiere attente."

—*D'aulcuns mesdisans, luy faisans reproche de la paouvreté de s'Amye.* *P. F.*, p. 33.

Sainte-Marthe's latest biographer, M. de Longuemare, supposes that Mdlle. Beringue had but slight hold upon the poet's affections, and that he was simply following the fashion of celebrating a poetic mistress; but, though it is true that Sainte-Marthe practised his poetical theories upon his mistress, it is impossible to read the

poems through without perceiving the presence of real passion — above all in the prayer for Beringue's recovery from "les fiebvres." A passage like the following could hardly be the outcome merely of poetic sensibility deliberately invoked:

"Ò doulx Seigneur . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
Ta grand doulceur icy venir m'appreste,
Pour humblement te faire une requeste.
C'est de donner par ta grace secours
A celle là qui prend vers toy recours,
Qui maintenant est au lict en malaise
Pour une Fiebvre aspre, longue et maulvaise
De laquelle est son corps fort tourmenté,
Si des siens est le dur mal lamenté,
Si ses Amys en ont grande tristesse,
J'en ay (sur tous) la mortelle destresse,
Je suis celuy, qui, avec le tourment,
Ne puis avoir aultre contentement
Que par sa Mort, une Mort qui m'est seure,
Prenant santé de la mesme morsure."

— *A Jesu Christ, Supplication pour obtenir guarison à Madamoiselle Beringue, estant malade des Fiebvres.* *P. F.*, p. 184.

Passion and friendship did not exhaust Sainte-Marthe's experience at Arles. He suffered

there not only bodily harm but petty persecution in some form, to which his poem to Saint-Martin doubtless made reference. He is strangely vague about these misfortunes when he exclaims, addressing the city of Arles:

> "Tu a voulu me priver de la vie
> Du coup mortel de ma senestre Main.
> Persecuté fus apres par Enuie
> D'aulcuns des tiens,"

— *A la Ville d'Arles en Provence, d'ou est natifve Madamoiselle Beringue, s'Amie. En forme de complainte.* *P. F.*, p. 25.

and sheds no further light upon the cause of the persecution than upon the nature of the bodily injury. As there is no reference to the loss of a hand either in Sainte-Marthe's later works or in his nephew's account of him,[1] it may be concluded that the accident, if accident it was, left no more effect than the persecution, which indeed ended in the confusion of its authors:

> "Mais l'effort inhumain
> A (Dieu mercy) à la fin esté vain.
> Donc chascun d'eulx l'aultre en honte regarde."
>
> — *Ibid.*

[1] It is barely possible that the poet intended some allusion to his father, who perhaps set an example followed by his more famous nephew and Latinized his name *Gaucher* into *Scévole*.

Sainte-Marthe's other peregrinations in the south possibly included Chambèry, since he addressed lines to Boysonné,[1] appointed in the course of 1538[2] judge in the Royal Court and *Parlement* there, and also Grenoble, where he certainly had friends, among them St. Romans, Jean Galbert and Jean d'Avanson,[3] all officials in town or *Parlement*, besides a certain Maurice Chausson, of a family prominent in the municipal affairs of the place, whose ardent friendship he returned with warmth.[4] He was in straits for money during this period and, it may be, applied in vain for help to the rich Boissonné. The possibility suggests itself from the tone of the verses he addressed to the latter, verses which,

[1] Cf. *infra*.

[2] *Rē* Boissonné, *cf.* Georges Guibal, *De Johannis Boissonei vita;* F. Meugnier, *La vie et les poésies de Jean Boysonné;* Copley Christie, *op. cit., passim.*

[3] *Cf. infra*, pp. 89, 92, *et passim.*

[4] Sainte-Marthe has a dixain to him, *A Maurice Chausson, vers Alexandrins. P. F.*, p. 66. He contributed a complimentary huitain to Sainte-Marthe's *Livre de ses Amys:— Maurice Chausson A S. Marthe. P. F.*, p. 234. One of the family, an apothecary, Louis by name, was *conseiller* in the municipal council in 1554 and *consul* in 1555. Another, Jean, is also named in the records as present at municipal meetings.

considering his many friends, read somewhat ungraciously:

A Monsieur Boissoné, Conseiller à Chambery. Qu'on se doibt fier au seul Seigneur, non aux Hommes.

"J'ay veu beaucoup, & i'ay beaucoup souffert,
Et au besoing j'ay trouvé peu d'Amys,
Tel s'est à moy de parolles offert
Qui à l'effect ne m'avoit rien promis,
Mais le Seigneur a tout cecy permis,
Voulant qu'en luy, non aultre me confye.
Malheureux est qui en l'Homme se fye.
—*P. F.*, p. 57.

Whether he begged of Boissonné or not, it is certain that he did of others. To Louis de Saint-Remy, of Grenoble[1] or Lyons, he wrote from Vincentz, one of the purlieus of the town,[2] where he was "in necessity," facetiously

[1] *A Monsieur de S. Remy luy estant en necessité à Vincence, P. F.*, p. 92, lines later attributed to Marot; *cf. infra*, p. 241, n. 4. Probably identical with Louis de St. Remy, *conseiller* at Grenoble and afterwards, in 1555, citizen of Geneva (*cf. La France Protestante*); the same perhaps as the M. de St. Remy, "qu'on dit estre fort expert quant aux reparations et fortifications des villes," who was at Lyons between 1542 and 1544 and was consulted by the authorities there as to the defences of that city. Archives de la ville de Lyons. Actes consulaires, BB. 61 Registre.

[2] The only explanation of *Vincence* that suggests itself.

begging a hundred *écus;* and François de Grolée's kindnesses certainly included pecuniary help. A letter received in the preceding January (1539) from Antoine Arlier indicates the same thing.[1] "I learn from your letter," writes the latter, "by what winds of fortune you are being buffeted, although you practice charity in speech and with your patrimony. If this virtue is proper and peculiar to those, of all others, who busy themselves with philosophy, be sure that it will guide you safe to port. I myself, my Sainte-Marthe, would offer to help you, were I not compelled shortly to set out for Court, to offer thanks to the most Christian King, because — in case you are ignorant of it — he has bestowed upon me the office of Senator at Turin. He wishes me still to remain in perpetuity lieutenant for the Seneschal at Arles. For this journey I am obliged to borrow money for horses, garments and service, since I have not

[1] *Arlerius Carolo Samarthano.* For text *cf.* p. 607. I owe this letter to the kindness of Dr. John L. Gerig of Columbia University, who is to publish Arlier's letters in collaboration with M. Emile Picot. Its date is fixed by the mention of Arlier's recent appointment (Dec. the 14th, 1538). *Cf.* E. Picot, *loc. cit.*, p. 335.

sufficient. See in what unhappy need I am forced to set out for the court in pretended prosperity, — to importune my friends and to refuse you, the dearest of all, what, on the contrary, I must repay elsewhere. Farewell, and look for a letter from me from Valence on the first opportunity. Arles. January the 1st (1539). That you have added distinction to my name in your learned writings certainly pleases me, who will, in the future take care that you do not repent of having thus labored."

Whatever the dates and order of his itinerary in the south of France, Sainte-Marthe had arrived at Romans by the end of October, 1539. There, also, he made powerful friends, among them André Tardivon, *Courrier* of the place, to whom he addressed a rondeau: *A André Tardivon, Courrier de Romans. Aulcunefoys Mal sur Mal estre santé.*[1] Others were the Ro-

[1] *P. F.*, p. 98. Of a family well known about Valence and Romans since 1426, this André was the son of Guillaume de Tardivon, also *Courrier* of the town of Romans. He married Françoise de Galbert de Rocoules and left a son, Exupère, who embraced the reformed religion and went to live in Vivarais. *Cf.* Bull. de la Soc. d'Arch. de la Drôme, Vol. XXVI, p. 352.

coules [1] connected with Tardivon by marriage; the learned Jean Merlin,[2] whom Sainte-Marthe complimented with a *dixain, A Jehan Merlin, Que nous sommes Aveugles en nos faicts;*[3] and perhaps Edmond Odde de Triors,[4] an important figure in the countryside. Sainte-Marthe's lines to the latter might be intended as an unfriendly personal epigram. If not, the dedication would be in itself a compliment:

"De quoy sert il avoir maison sans porte?
De quoy sert il quand belle Bource on porte
Plaine d'Argent, si n'a point de lien?
Celà bien peu proffite, ou du tout rien.

[1] Sainte-Marthe addressed two poems to Jeanne de Rocoules, *A Madamoiselle Jeanne de Raucoulles. Que la cognoissance de Dieu oultrepasse tous autres dons. P. F.*, p. 36, and *A Madamoiselle Jean de Raoucoulles. P. F.*, p. 153.

[2] *Rē* Jean-Raymond Merlin, his protestantism and his "mission" in France, *cf. La France Prot.* and Rochas, *Biog. du Dauphiné.* Native of Romans, he left France "in his youth" to settle at Lausanne, where he was appointed professor of Hebrew in 1531 or 1548. His acquaintance with Sainte-Marthe makes the latter date more probable.

[3] *P. F.*, p. 68.

[4] *Rē* Edmond Odde, Seigneur de Triors (d. 1572) "voisin & singulier amy de la communauté," *cf.* Bull. de la Soc. d'Arch. de la Drôme, Vol. XXIV, 135–145.

Et moins la langue, encor que soit diserte,
S'à tous propos sans closture est ouverte."
— *A noble Edmond Odde, Seigneur de Triors. Du cloistre de la Langue.* *P. F.*, p. 72.

He made enemies also, possibly Edmond Bourel, Canon of Romans,[1] certainly the municipal schoolmaster Hondremar.[2] This man was guilty of "wrongs" upon which Sainte-Marthe dwelt in lines addressed to him:

"Tu le scais bien, que tu m'as irrité,
Et fait des tourts lesquels je ne racompte.
Tu le scais bien que je dy Verité,
Tu le scais bien, ce qu'en as merité.
Ton propre faict, Hondremare, te fait honte.
De me venger par escript ne tiens compte,
Laisser debrons à Dieu toute vengeance,
Combien que j'ay de ce faire puissance."
— *A Antoine Hondremarc Maistre d'Escholle à Romans.* *P. F.*, p. 69.

[1] His ballade to Bourel leaves the reader in the same doubt as do his lines to Odde de Triors. *A Edmond Bourel Chanoine de Romans en Daulphiné. Que (suivant l'ordonnance de Dieu) mieulx vault se marier que d'entretenir Palliardes.* *P. F.*, p. 57. In 1556 Bourel, as member of the chapter of St. Bernard of Romans, was chosen to keep the seals until the nomination and installation of the new bishop Charles de Marillac. *Cf.* Bull. de la Soc. d'Arch. de la Drôme, Vol. XVIII, pp. 22 and 24.

[2] Thus spelt in the municipal archives of Romans. In those of Grenoble it is spelt Oudremare.

Hondremar — according to Sainte-Marthe Hondremarc — was a learned man and an experienced teacher.[1] No doubt, any rumor of Sainte-Marthe's unsound opinions would alone be sufficient to arouse his prejudices, for he had himself replaced in office a notorious heretic;[2] and it is easy to conceive that Sainte-Marthe added fuel to the fire when, towards the end of October, he applied from Romans for the post of municipal schoolmaster at Grenoble,[3] a position

[1] He had formerly been schoolmaster at Avignon. *Cf.* Archives Municipales de Grenoble, July 15th, 1532. Hondremar appears in the archives of Romans as replacing the previous incumbent, Josias, in 1538. On the 9th of April, 1541, there is an entry in the same archives concerning the maintenance of an unmarried schoolmaster. The widow of the deceased schoolmaster, doubtless Hondremar, is charged "d'entretenir ses commensaux." Archives de Romans, Registre BB. 5 and BB. 6.

[2] *I.e.*, Josias, one of the earliest Protestant preachers of the Dauphiné. Information due to the kindness of Monsieur Jules Chevalier of Romans.

[3] Année 1539, Archives Municipales de Grenoble, BB. 12, f°.,268. "Mardi 28 d'Octobre dans la Tour de l'Isle a esté appellé le Conseil auquel se sont trouvés: Noble Guigs Coct et Jeham de Fabro, Consulz, despuis maistre Jeham Maneni, vénérable home messire Anthoyne Guiffrey, chanoyne de l'église Nostre-Dame de Grenoble, égrégie personne George Fiquel, Advocat, maistre Jacques Pillosii, Jeham Sernandi, Pierre Audeyard, Claude

which Hondremar had, some years earlier, coveted for himself.[1]

Whether Sainte-Marthe's application to Grenoble indicates or not that he was — in some capacity — teaching at Romans,[2] perhaps as one

Reynaud, Jeham du Port et maistre Jeham Jouvencel, noble Pierre Chappellani, Cappitaine de Porte-Freyne, et sire Jeham Verdonay, despuis Aymo Repellin et monsieur Pou Actuher, Advocat.

Pour les escolles et maistre Charles Saincte-Marthe. } Proposé: Quant aux affaires des escolles de la présente cité et de ce que maistre Adam, moderne precepteur desdites escolles, n'a tenu ni observé le contenu de l'instrument sur ce faict et que de noveau avons heu nouvelles d'ung nommé maistre Charles de Saincte-Marthe, lequel c'est offert vouloir venir servir ausdites escolles, parquoy demande que sera defferé. Conclu que l'on envoie audit Charles de Saincte-Marthe, à Romans, une lettre au nom de la Ville pour scavoir de luy le partir qui veult avoir pour servir aux escolles de la présente cité; et quant l'augment que demande ledit maistre Adam; que entresi et la Tousainctz prochein l'on appellera le Conseil Général pour le mettre en délibéracion." The inventory of the Archives is misleading. Vol. I. p. 34. "On écrira a Me Charles Sainte-Marthe *maître de l'école* à Romans pour savoir s'il veut venir remplacer le precepteur de l'école de Grenoble qui ne s'acquitte par convenablement de ses fonctions." It will be observed that the document itself makes no mention of Sainte-Marthe as "maître de l'école" at Romans.

[1] *Cf.* Archives de Grenoble, July 15th, 1532.

[2] He was assuredly not the official schoolmaster. No

of the "magistri" or "pedagogues" complained of from time to time by the official incumbent on the ground that they "luy tondent l'herbe sous les pieds,"[1] he had at least some experience of a calling which must have had much to attract a man of his nature. Thanks to the ardent preoccupation of the time with learning and education, the profession was filled with youthful scholars of distinguished erudition and more than ordinary reputation, many of whom held liberal views and regarded their position as a vantage ground from which to disseminate the new ideas; for, by the far-seeing recommendation of Calvin,[2] schoolmasters were the pre-

mention of him is made in the archives of Romans and the entries *cit. supra* leave no room for the supposition.

[1] In 1530, April 15th Archives of Romans, Registre BB. 5, "Plainte d'Adam contre certains magisters qui tiennent des commensaulx et lui ôtent son profit." In 1527, April 23rd (*ibid.*), "Josias se plaint de certains pedagogues en la ville qui tiennent commensalité et luy tondent l'herbe sous les pieds."

[2] "Leur addresse premiere estoit tousiours chez les regents maistres d'escholes selon l'instruction de Calvin. . . . Calvin et ses apostres, lesquels par l'entremise de ses regents firent couler leur dangereuse doctrine dans les escholes principalement de Guienne." Florimond de Rœmond, *op. cit.*, Book VII, p. 864.

ferred proselytes of the new movement. The prevalent taste for a wandering life, especially that of a scholar, heightened by the opportunities for advancement which the patronage of learning offered, had brought about as a fashion a constant change of incumbents, which robbed the schoolmaster's life of monotony and offered occasion for travel, adventure and intercourse with men of kindred tastes. Indeed, a perusal of the municipal records of this period raises a natural question as to the probable effect such constant change must have had upon that education which the century so eagerly cherished. Unfortunately, love of change was not the only cause which rendered the tenure of office so unstable, and the municipal archives record dismissals of schoolmasters for the neglect of their duties, for inattention, for drunkenness, brawling and profligacy,[1] as also for heresy. The latter accusation was so easy to advance, and so convenient a cloak for personal rancor, that schoolmasters by their very distinction easily became its victims; and Sainte-Marthe himself

[1] *Cf.*, for example, *infra*, pp. 110 *et seq.* for the dismissal of a well-known pedagogue.

had reason to complain that whom the impious hated they accused of heresy, failing other points of attack.[1]

As yet, however, his reputation for orthodoxy was not sufficiently clouded to prevent Sainte-Marthe's being considered a suitable candidate for the advantageous position of official schoolmaster at Grenoble. In their deliberations of the 28th of October, 1539, the *consuls* of Grenoble, acting upon his application, decided at least to make him tentative advances, while at the same time considering the increase of stipend demanded by the unsatisfactory incumbent, Adam.

[1] Ea est hodie impiorum tanta perversitas ut quem perditum ac extinctum esse velent, cum aliter non possunt perdere, haereseos accersant, ac eo nomine non principibus solum ac potentibus viris, verumetiam vulgo ipsi ac rudibus idiotis invisum et odiosum reddant. — *In Psalmum Septem. . . . Paraphrasis*, p. 26.

CHAPTER III

TROUBLES AT GRENOBLE. LIFE IN LYONS. THE *POESIE FRANCOISE*

THE deliberations of the Grenoble consuls bore no immediate fruit, for it is evident from the archives at Grenoble that Sainte-Marthe was at no time official municipal schoolmaster there.[1] At this point, indeed, conjecture must take the place of even moderate assurance in regard to dates. It is probable that Sainte-Marthe traveled north to Paris and was taken, temporarily at least, into the service of Marguerite of Navarre. He was assuredly in her retinue when, in December of this or some later year, she left Paris and hurried towards Plessis-les-Tours at the news of the illness of Jeanne d'Albret. In his funeral oration on the Queen, Sainte-Marthe has left a vivid account of this journey, which, with every allowance for rhetorical qualities, is convincingly the work of an eyewitness.[2] The

[1] *Cf. Registre* BB. 12 and BB. 13, fols. 22-23.

[2] *Or. fun. de Marguerite de Navarre*, etc., pp. 52-55. *Cf. infra*, pp. 431-437.

particularity of his whole description is enhanced by its striking contrast with an immediately preceding account of Marguerite's son's death, far more general in its record of circumstances and in its evidence of emotion.[1] Had he not been drawing upon personal reminiscence, Sainte-Marthe would have laid himself open to severe criticism from an audience such as that for whom the oration was composed, — an audience perfectly familiar with the facts; for the assumption of his presence is clearly conveyed by many phrases, such, for example, as "Mais Ô Seigneur Dieu, de quelle affection d'esprit et de quelle ardente foy elle parloit a toy!"[2] The date of the journey in question is, as has been intimated, open to conjecture. Génin places it in 1537, and he assigns this date to Marguerite's letter on the subject,[3] as also to another

[1] *Or. fun.*, pp. 50–51. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 54–55.

[3] *Lettres de Marguerite d'Angoulême*, no. 146. The mention in this letter of the fact that the news of her daughter's improvement reached Marguerite after midnight and that the child "a perdu sa fiesvre & fort diminue son flutz du ventre," and the reference to the writer's fatigues due to the "vie que j'ay mené despuis que je partis," fall in well with Sainte-Marthe's description of the hurried journey and of the arrival of the

less certainly concerned with it,[1] dating both letters in the month of December, on the strength of Sainte-Marthe's assertion, "ce fut an plus courts jours." The date of 1537, however, cannot stand; for the bishop who brought to Marguerite, on her journey, the news of her daughter's improvement, Nicholas d'Angou, named by Sainte-Marthe "Nicolas d'Anguye lors Evesque de Saix, maintenant de Mande," was not created bishop of Seez until June 1539. The journey might well, then, have been taken in December of this year, and, judging by Sainte-Marthe's later biography, occurred more probably at this period than later.[2]

bishop bringing news of the child, "que la fiebre l'avoit laissée, que son flux de sang estoit arresté," only after the queen had supped and spent some time in prayer and reading. *Cf.* also Génin, *Notice biographique, ibid.*, p. 65.

[1] *Nouvelles Lettres de la Reine de Navarre,* no. 102. This letter probably refers to a different illness, for Marguerite appears on this occasion to have been herself with the child. "A ce matin elle a pris de la reubarbe, dont je la trouve amendée."

[2] In September, 1540, Sainte-Marthe was at Lyons, in February, 1541, at Geneva, and he might of course have made the journey with Marguerite in the interval. However, weight should be given to the fact that he is not mentioned that year in Frotté's book of expenses of 1540–

To his attendance upon Marguerite, Sainte-Marthe probably owed his acquaintance with one of the Benacs, the chief of whose house was first baron of Béarn, to whom he addressed a poem, *A Jean Benac, de soy*,[1] and who in his turn contributed a complimentary *huitain* to Sainte-Marthe's volume of 1540.[2] The Benac in question may have been Jean-Marc, baron of Montault and Benac, or, more probably, in view of the style of address, one of his sons or some other relative.[3] Very likely it was at this time also that Sainte-Marthe formed a friendship with Guillaume de Balzac d'Entraigues,[4] whose father

1548, nor indeed until 1548 (*cf. infra*, p. 173). For other years, *cf. infra*. It is fair to note, however, that the useful publication of MM. Lefranc and Boulanger, *Comptes de Louise de Savoie et de Marguerite d'Angoulême* makes no mention of Sainte-Marthe in the year 1539.

[1] *P. F.*, p. 93.

[2] *Jean Benac, A Sainte-Marthe. P. F.*, p. 235.

[3] *Cf.* Moréri, *Dict.* and *La France Prot.*, art. *Montault.*

[4] *Sur la naissance de la fille de Monsieur le Baron d'Entraigues. P. F.*, p. 30. (1517–1555.) The queen obtained royal letters of release from her guardianship in 1531. Later d'Entraigues followed the duc de Guise, was wounded in battle in 1555 and died a few days later. He was father of "le bel Entraigues." It was probably his sister who is named among the "filles demoiselles" of the queen of Navarre in 1529–1530.

was so closely connected with the Queen of Navarre as to have wished him to be her ward, and also made acquaintance with Madame de l'Estrange, perhaps that lady of the court who was the subject of Marot's two poems, *A Madame de l'Estrange*.[1] It is impossible to tell how long Sainte-Marthe remained with the Queen of Navarre, if indeed it was at this time that he was in her train; but it is certain that he went to Grenoble or to some place within the jurisdiction of its *Parlement* in the early months of 1540, and was there imprisoned on account of his opinions. He appears to have given lectures or public lessons of some sort attempting to reconcile religious differences. "Thou art my witness," he declares in his Meditation on the Seventh Psalm, "that I never had less thought of anything than of the disturbance of the public peace; but left no stone unturned that Thy truth might be proclaimed to the people without scandal, and that so far as possible the

Cf. Aigueperse, *Biog. d'Auvergne*, and Lefranc and Boulanger, *op. cit.*, pp. 69–81. *Cf. infra*, p. 293, n. 3.

[1] Sainte-Marthe; *A Madame de L'Estrange. P. F.*, p. 129. Marot; *Œuvres*, Vols. II, p. 230, and III, p. 67.

harmony between Christians which had been so rent might be restored." [1]

Sainte-Marthe assuredly showed small discretion in choosing Grenoble or its neighborhood to air his views in. The *Parlement*, thinking to have stamped out the Lutheran heresy fourteen years before,[2] was in no mood to be lenient to reformers, especially at a time when the torch of persecution had been lighted anew,[3] and special instructions had just been received as to the prosecution of heretics.[4] As a consequence, Sainte-Marthe spent some time in prison and even stood in danger of his life. Probably on that, as on a later, occasion, the attack upon him was instigated by François Faysan and Théodore Mulet, justices in the *Parlement*. Faysan and Edmond Mulet, a brother of the Mulet in question, also a justice, were prime movers in a

[1] *In Psalmum Septimum. . . . Paraphrasis*, p. 57.

[2] "En 1526 les Lutheriens commenceront d'y paroitre et d'y enseigner leurs dogmes. Le Parlement les en chassa." Guy Allard, *Œuvres Divers*, Grenoble, 1869, Vol. I, p. 328.

[3] By the edicts of December 10th, 1538 (*cf.* Herminjard, *op. cit.*, Vol. VI, p. 60), of June 1st, 1540, and of June 24th, 1540, *Actes de François I*, nos. 11509 and 11072.

[4] *Cf. Actes de François I*, no. 11125.

quarrel which had divided *Parlement* and Town-Council since the preceding January;[1] and the fact that the town-counsellors were considering the young man as a candidate for the position in their gift was enough to attract to him the unfavorable attention of the *Parlement*. Théodore Mulet was a man of loose life, ignorant as well as vindictive, if we are to believe Sainte-Marthe; and Faysan,[2] on the same authority, although holding the office of advocate-general, was not only uneducated but totally senile. Both, in their victim's opinion, were wholly ignorant of the law and as fit to deal with it as asses to handle the lyre.[3] The dislike of these men, at first, no doubt, hardly personal, was, in Sainte-Marthe's eyes at least, exasperated by the natu-

[1] *Cf.* Archives Municipales de Grenoble BB. 12 *Registre*, 1539, January 19th, 22nd, 29th, February 1st.

[2] *Rē* Mulet and Faysan *cf.* Fleury Vindry, *Les parlementaires français au XVI^e siècle*, Vol. I. pp. 61, 67, 68, 74, 97. Mulet's name appears in the dedication of a volume by Etienne Forcault, *Stephani Forcatuli epigrammata Veris adventus, ad Augerium Latanum Sanctæ crucis Abbat. & Theodorum Muletum in magno consil., & Fr. de nuptiis ac P. Pappum Tholos., senatores.* The volume contains also (p. 131) a quatrain *Ad Theodorum.*

[3] Ded. to Avanson. *In Psalmum . . . xxxiii Paraphrasis*, p. 140.

ral antipathy of ignorance to learning. "How should they treat clemently and according to their duty," he exclaims, "one, by the grace of good arts, even slightly accomplished in learning, who are wholly divorced from the Muses and shut out from all good disciplines?" [1]

Whatever part private rancor may have played in this first imprisonment of Sainte-Marthe at Grenoble, it is certain that the coldness of his family and of some of his friends added much to his distress. He was destitute of money, "in our century the armor of the accused," [2] and applied in vain to his relations. The poems, which he published in the following year, contain several biting epigrams to his kinsfolk on the subject of their neglect,[3] and one of the rondeaux seems to imply that, to unwillingness to help him, his parents added actual cruelty:

> Grand cruaulté estre aux bestes trouvons,
> Quand leurs petits devorer les scavons,
> Ou (qui moins est) leur nier nourriture,
> Car par l'instinct de la seule Nature,
> Un incredible Amour y concepuons.

[1] Ded. to Avanson. *In Psalmum . . . xxxiii Paraphrasis*, p. 141. [2] *Ibid.*

[3] *A aulcuns de ses parents.* *P. F.*, p. 16. *D'aulcuns siens Parents, mais maulvais Amys.* *P. F.*, p. 53.

Que dirons nous si nous appercevons
Ceulx vers lesquels retirer nous debvons
Encontre nous monstrer en toute injure
Grand cruaulté?

Ò pauvre temps, Monsieur, que nous avons,
Ò le forfaict, qu'ainsi nous poursuivons
Sans pieté nostre propre facture.
C'est un grand cas, c'est une chose dure,
Que, contre droict, d'iceulx nous recevons
Grand cruaulté!

— *A Monsieur le chevalier de Monthozier*. *P. F.*, p. 102.

Some years later, Sainte-Marthe, referring no doubt to their behavior on this, as well as on a later, occasion, wrote of himself as a poor man whose extreme need parents and friends, although rich and abounding in wealth and esteemed and honored by the world, relieved by not even a penny.[1] He complains of them further in an epistle to the queen of Navarre, probably composed during this captivity: "Madame, n'est ce assés," he cries,

"Ne veoir aulcun qui vexé me soullage,
Que (d'ou mon mal s'augmente davantage)
Infestément ma Nature me fuit?
Me destitue, & (qui plus est) poursuit?"
— "*A la Royne de Navarre.*" *P. F.*, p. 120.

[1] *In Ps. . . . xxxiii Paraph.*, p. 162. His brother Louis had lately been made *Procureur du roi* at Loudun (April, 1538).

However, Sainte-Marthe had at least some friends who stood him in better than his kin, and he heartily expressed his sense that

> "un seul Amy perfaict
> Vault cent fois mieulx que mille telz Parents."
> — *P. F.*, p. 53.

When prison loomed up before him, he felt that he could apply for help to St. Romans,[1] even though with an apology:

> "Pardonnez moi, Monseigneur, si je faulx
> Faulte d'argent fait perdre toute honte."

And, although we do not know the result of this appeal, we do know that Jean Galbert, whose acquaintance he probably owed to his friends the Tardivons and Rocoules,[2] supplied Sainte-Marthe with the necessaries of life when he was in prison and nearly exhausted by hunger and sickness. A letter from Denis Faucher makes mention of the fact. Faucher appears to have been sufficiently disturbed by reports of Sainte-Marthe's misfortunes, and sufficiently concerned at his rumored heresies, eagerly to seek news of

[1] *A monsieur de Sainct Romans, Conseiller de Grenoble.* *P. F.*, p. 30. Unidentified further.

[2] André Tardivon married Françoise de Galbert de Rocoules. *Rē* Galbert *cf.* Fleury Vindry, *op. cit.*, pp. 62, and 78.

him through a nephew of his own. We learn, from what he says of this nephew's report, that Sainte-Marthe took a leaf out of Calvin's book and appealed for countenance to patristic authority: "Although I am little able to give you any solace by my letter," writes Faucher, "both because my letters are not of the sort to do so, and because I am personally so touched by your distress that I seem rather to require consolation than able to give it; still, since a mind shaken by the force of trials and the onslaught of calamities less easily perceives and judges of its own than of what is strange to it, I wished to write these few words to you, and also that my most faithful and most loving counsel might not fail you a man who so loves me. I grieved, dearest Sainte-Marthe, when I heard that you were fallen into such serious peril, whereby your life was endangered; but I was consumed with distress when they said that you thought wrongly of our religion and obstinately upheld the erroneous opinions of heretics. But when my nephew brought me your letter I rejoiced to learn not only from it, but from his own words, that you are better and freer than you were and that it

is certain that, calumny stilled, you will shortly be dismissed quite free. For, when the *Parlement* learns that you are cleaving to the footsteps of the holy fathers and that there are those of its own order who have supplied to you, still struggling with the effects of illness, the necessary expenses of living, then truly, your innocence will shortly be the more openly approved. Hence, my Sainte-Marthe, I exhort you, and beg you for our mutual kindness, to show yourself such an one as no ill opinion can ever remove from the firmness and sincerity of the Catholic faith, nor any tribulation from the stability of mind and the dignity of a wise man. I write this, not so much doubting your constancy as trusting you, because of the kindness and affection between us, to approve as just what I have written. God, who is the consoler of the sorrowing, grant that you may very soon return to us free. Meanwhile do your best to recover and remember your Denis. Tarascon. June the 21st, 1540." [1]

[1] *Dionysus Carolo Sammartano. Chronologia Sanctorum Sacræ Insulæ Lerinensis*, p. 276. For the text, *cf.* p. 605 *et seq.*

Before Faucher's letter could reach Sainte-Marthe his hope had been fulfilled and his friend set at liberty. If it was about this time that Sainte-Marthe despatched two long rhymed epistles to Marguerite of Navarre and Marguerite of France, reminding them of their former kindness, complaining of imprisonment and referring rather mysteriously to sufferings of four years' duration,[1] it may be that Queen and Princess exerted themselves on his behalf; but a more certain factor in his release was undoubtedly the influence of a powerful member of the *Parlement*, Jean Marcel d'Avanson,[2] Ronsard's *Phœbus d'Avanson*;[3] "celuy lequel au besoing (ou l'Amytíe s'explique)," says Sainte-

[1] Published in 1540. *A la Royne de Navarre* and *A Madame Marguerite, fille unique du Roy. P. F.*, p. 119 and 122. *Cf. supra*, pp. 38 and 88. In view of chronological difficulties evident on examination of these poems, I have thrown out conjectures based exclusively upon them.

[2] *Rē* Avanson, *cf.* Rochas, *Biographie du Dauphiné; Bull. de la Soc. Statistique de l'Isère*, Vol. II, p. 72 *et passim*, Vol. XXVI *et passim;* Fleury Vindry, *op. cit.*, pp. 63 and 81, and *Ambassadeurs franç. au XVI^e siècle*, p. 38.

[3] *A. J. d'Avanson, Œuvres*, Vol. V, p. 335. *Cf.* also *ibid.*, Vols. I, pp. 423, 425; IV, p. 87, and V, pp. 245, 271; Du Bellay's dedication of his *Regrets, Œuvres*, Vol. II, p. 163, and *Regrets*, p. 157; Utenhove, *Xenia*, in *Georgii Buchanani Scoti poetae . . . Poemata*, p. 64.

Marthe in a letter of dedication[1] published within the year, "s'est monstré par effect mon Amy." And there could not have been a better advocate for a man accused of heresy than Avanson, who, apart from his distinction, was of a family known to be orthodox in the extreme.[2]

However his release was brought about, Sainte-Marthe almost at once received an appointment to a chair in the liberal *Collège de la Trinité* at Lyons. Indeed, a letter from Saint-Maur congratulating him upon this appointment is dated one day earlier than Faucher's. "Et nonobstant qu'as soubtenu plusieurs adverses fortunes," writes the former on the 20th of June, 1540, "es pays loingtains, à toy toutefoy prosperes; as esté dernierement bien venu et mieulx receu en ce tant honorable College de Lyon: estant des scavants trouvé capable à la profession publique des quatre tant estimées & utiles Langues, Hebraicque, Greque, Latine & Gallicque." [3]

[1] Of the *Livre de ses Amys*. *P. F.*, p. 226. *Cf.* p. 564 *et seq.*

[2] Both his brother François and his son Guillaume distinguished themselves by their belligerent Catholicism.

[3] *Leon de Saincte More, dit de Monthozier, Chevalier de l'ordre de sainct Jean de Hierusalem, A Charles de Saincte Marthe.* *Cf.* p. 600.

Saint-Maur's reference to Hebrew is interesting, for its possession was at that time unusual, and indications are altogether lacking as to where and when Sainte-Marthe acquired his knowledge of it. The tradition of the teaching of Hebrew had not been actually lost in France since the existence of the *Collège de Constantinople* in the middle of the thirteenth century; the Church had practical reasons for maintaining the study of Oriental languages.[1] It was, however, an interrupted tradition, which had suffered a decided check at the end of the fifteenth century; but, since Aleandro's rectorship of the University of Paris and Agostino Guistiniano's five years of teaching, it had flowed on in a continuous if narrow stream, despite the opposition of the Sorbonne. Two chairs in Hebrew, among the royal professorships of 1530, were ably filled by Vatable and Guidacerius. It was, nevertheless, not Paris, but Lyons, which boasted the greatest Hebraist of the century. Sanctes Pagnini had been dead but a year or two[2] at the

[1] For these and the following details *cf.* A. Lefranc, *Histoire du Collège de France*, pp. 3–5; 6–15 *et passim.*

[2] He died in 1536.

time when we have supposed Sainte-Marthe traveling in the Dauphiné and Lyonnais; and his name must have been especially in all men's mouths in a district which looked to Lyons as its intellectual center. Moreover Gabriel de Marillac, brother of Sainte-Marthe's acquaintance the abbot of Pontigny, had been the advocate of the Royal lecturers in 1534,[1] and we may suppose the ecclesiastic in consequence interested if not versed in Greek and Hebrew; while Sainte-Marthe's friend Merlin was considered a Hebrew scholar sufficient to fill a chair in the subject. Under such stimulus, it is easy to imagine Sainte-Marthe applying himself to, and perfecting himself in, the study of Hebrew. Sanctes Pagnini must have left behind him pupils capable of passing on his instruction, and Sainte-Marthe, with his gift for languages, would need but a comparatively short time to qualify himself sufficiently for the post at Lyons.

No better fortune could have befallen the unfortunate scholar than to obtain it, nor could there have been a greater tribute to his abilities and reputation. An appointment at

[1] *Cf.* Lefranc, *op. cit.*, pp. 145 and 146.

Lyons was still greatly to be desired by any man of talent whose opinion laid him open to persecution. A city half Italian, and therefore, at this period, half pagan, it had long offered to men of doubtful views comparative intellectual freedom. Liberal ideas were welcomed there, not because Lyons was especially predisposed to the new religion, but because its real religion, as has been well observed, was Platonism, and its spirit fundamentally indifferent to points of belief. The general diffusion of unorthodox sentiment afforded protection to the individual, and the authorities remained, if not indifferent, at least inactive. Even the Cardinal de Tournon had for a time treated Lyons indulgently, while the Trivulces and Jean de Peyret, the lieutenant-governor, actively sheltered learning from attack on the ground of opinion.[1] This aspect of things had, indeed, lately altered, and even Lyons was reflecting the change of temper which had come about in France since the interview at Aigues-Mortes. The edicts of Coucy and Lyons had been repealed (Dec. 10th, 1538), letters patent organizing the prosecution of heresy addressed

[1] *Cf.* Copley Christie, *op. cit.*, pp. 168, 238, 314 *et passim.*

to all the *parlements* (June 24th, 1539), and the stern edict of Fontainebleau promulgated as recently as the first of the month which found Sainte-Marthe in Lyons.[1] The Cardinal de Tournon, lately created Chancellor, and himself the instigator of the edict,[2] doubtless felt that this was a propitious time to teach Lyons also her lesson. Three Lutherans were burnt alive in the beginning of the year, and an Annonay merchant visiting the Lyons fair suffered the same penalty for refusing to kneel before an image.[3] Still, sharp lesson as it was, it did not touch the lettered world of Lyons. One of its members indeed, Eustorg de Beaulieu,[4] had found it wise to flee to Geneva three years before, but his imprudences had actually been extreme. On the whole, men of learning were unmolested, and although they had lost their strongest protector, Pompone de Trivulce,[5] Jean de Peyrat was still alive to shield them. Even Dolet, incautious as he was, had so far not been seriously

[1] *Actes de François I*, nos. 11,072 and 11,509.
[2] *Cf.* H. Lutteroth, *La Réformation en France*, p. 34.
[3] *Cf.* Buisson, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 91.
[4] *Ré* Beaulieu, *cf. La France Protestante*, 2d ed. (1879).
[5] He died in October, 1539.

interfered with.[1] Speaking generally, an unobtrusive heretic could still find safe shelter at Lyons.

Intellectual power, no less than intellectual freedom, distinguished the Lyons of the sixteenth century. Its prosperity, its luxury and display did not deaden, rather fortified, its emotional life. "L'activité pratique, l'industrie, le commerce, les intérêts et les richesses qu'ils créent," writes a modern authority, "n'y étouffent pas les ardeurs mystiques, les exaltations âpres ou tendres, les vibrations profondes ou sonores de la sensibilité tumultueuse. . . . Au xvi^e^ siècle . . . la vie de l'esprit y était intense: dans ce monde inquiet et ardent, les poètes étaient nombreux et les poétesses presque autant."[2] Of these poets two among the most admired, Maurice Scève and Gilbert Ducher, were already Sainte-Marthe's friends. He had known Ducher, now his colleague[3] at the *Collège de la Trinité*,[4]

[1] *Cf.* Copley Christie, *op. cit.*, pp. 390 and 392.

[2] Gustave Lanson, *Hist. de la littérature française*, pp. 271 and 272.

[3] *Cf.* J. L. Gerig, *Le Collège de la Trinité*, p. 206.

[4] *Cf.* Ducher's lines to him, p. 600, which must have been written at latest in 1529, the date of Francis' marriage to the sister of the Emperor. Although Ducher

almost since boyhood, and indeed the manner of their acquaintance belonged essentially to youth. Attracted by his virtues and learning, the younger man had been moved to approach, address, and "wholly offer himself" to Ducher in Latin verses which the latter published among *Epigrammata Amicorum* with his own epigrams in 1538.[1] Elsewhere Sainte-Marthe, ranking him among illustrious poets, calls Ducher greater than Ovid, equal to Virgil. This tribute has not survived, for Ducher modestly refrained from publishing it, perhaps because, as he justly says, he thought the estimate "ridiculum et mehercule falsum." This did not, however, prevent him from calling Sainte-Marthe's verses worthy of Apollo, in one of the two epigrams which he addressed to him in return.[2] Scève, "trescher Amy Sceve,"[3] famous already for his

is constantly referred to in works dealing with this period, little is actually known of him. *Cf.*, however, Buisson, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 31 and 32.

[1] *Epigrammaton libri duo*, p. 160; *cf.* p. 546.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 117; *cf.* p. 610.

[3] *A Maurice Sceve Lyonnois, homme treserudit, Vers Alexandrins. P. F.*, p. 50. Sainte-Marthe has another poem to him, — "A Maurice Sceve, Qu'il vault mieulx donner que prendre." *P. F.*, p. 80.

Arion, for his translation of Juan de Flores' *Deplorable fin de Flamete*,[1] and above all for his supposed discovery of Laura's tomb (early in 1533), possessed Sainte-Marthe's unbounded admiration. Drawn to the Lyonnese poet as steel to the magnet, — so he told him in Alexandrines, a novel form at the time, — struck by his learned gravity, his profound eloquence, his admirable performance, Sainte-Marthe doubted whether Scève were a creature more human or divine. He named him also among "Poetes Francoys, divins et treserudits,"[2] and has left a pleasant picture of him, "petit de Corps, d'un grand esprit rassis," in his *Tempe de France*,[3] while Scève reciprocated with an admiring *dix-ain* remarkable chiefly for its obscurity.[4] Sainte-Marthe did poetical homage, besides, to the virtues and renown of the wife of Matthew de Vauzelles, Claudine Scève, Maurice's cousin or sister, "de vertu et d'honneur dame pleine";[5] and

[1] Pub. Lyons, Fr. Juste, 1535.

[2] *P. F.*, p. 226; *cf.* p. 565.

[3] *Elegie du Tempe de France*, *P. F.*, p. 202; *cf.* p. 541.

[4] *Livre de ses Amys*, *P. F.*, p. 232.

[5] *A Madame Claude Sceve, femme de Monsieur l'Advocat du Roy A Lyon*. *P. F.*, p. 157. Matthew de Vauzelles had been *Juge Mage* at Lyons since 1517.

he addressed himself also to another still more famous Lyonnese lady, Marie de Pierrevive, the hospitable and generous Dame du Perron,[1] whom he complimented on:

> " . . . meurs, entretien, faictz & dictz
> Dequoy pallas t'a faict participante
> En Beau parler, & harangue elegante."
> — *A Madamoiselle Marie de Pierrevive, Dame du Peron. P. F.*, p. 137.

She was an ardent patroness of letters and the arts, and her munificence was celebrated by the poet-musician Eustorg de Beaulieu.[2] Wife of Antoine de Gondi, herself Italian by birth, and the confidante of the Italian Catherine de' Medici, Marie-Catherine de Pierrevive, by her influence, no doubt potently encouraged in the women of Lyons that charm of wit, freedom and intellectual interests which gave them a re-

[1] *A Madamoiselle Marie de pierre vive, Dame du Peron. P. F.*, p. 137. La Croix du Maine, *Bibl. françoise*, Vol. II, p. 89, takes her literary efforts for granted: "J'ai vu plusieurs louanges de cette dame, faites par beaucoup d'ecrivains de son tems mais je n'ai pas connoissance de ses ecrits." *Cf.* also the Père de Colonia, *Hist. litt. de Lyon*, pp. 462–464, and Pernetti, Recherches pour servir à l'histoire de Lyon, Vol. I, p. 435. It is to be hoped that Brantôme's account of her is mere slander. *Œuvres*, Vol. VI, p. 265.

[2] *Divers Rapportz*, fol. viii v°

semblance to the Italian women of their time. Besides Claudine Scève and her sister Sybille, Marot's "belles and bonnes," [1] the group of brilliant women, whose fame was one of the glories of Lyons included Pernette de Guillette, Clemence de Bourges, Jeanne Gaillarde and, later on, most famous of all, Louise Labbé, at the time of Sainte-Marthe's arrival, still in her early girlhood.

Scève and Ducher, Claudine Scève and Marie de Pierrevive, were not Sainte-Marthe's only influential friends at Lyons. Dolet, established there since 1534, was at the height of his renown, nor did a quarrel with Ducher [2] weaken his friendship for Sainte-Marthe. The latter had already shown his sympathy with him in his attack upon Gratian — or Sebastien — du Pont, Sieur de Drusac, by two poems in defense of women, one attacking Drusac by name — *A Drusac, detracteur du sexe feminin* — and another, addressed "*Aux detracteurs du sexe feminin*," [3]

[1] *Cf.* his happy epigram, *A deux Sœurs Lyonnoises*, Vol. III, p. 41.

[2] *Cf.* Copley Christie, *op. cit.*, pp. 274, n., and 495, n.

[3] *P. F.*, pp. 94 and 82. Reprinted by Charles Oulmont, *Gratian du Pont et les femmes*, Rev. des Etudes Rabelai-

which had, it may be presumed, circulated in manuscript for some years. He now proved himself Dolet's partisan, in one of the latter's innumerable bickerings, by an epigram, *A Monsieur Dolet, D'un Detracteur mesdisant de luy,*[1] and was prompt in marking his appreciation of the great printer's recent book[2] by another *dixain, Au Lecteur Francoy* appended as an epilogue to the volume, as well as by a more pretentious longer poem, *Aux Francoys, en recommendation du Livre de Dolet,* etc.[3] Perhaps his admiration of Dolet is best expressed in the Alexandrines in which

siennes, Vol. IV, p. 5. Both poems probably dated from 1534 (or, according to Copley Christie, possibly 1533) — the year of the publication of du Pont's *Controverses des sexes masculin et fœminin* and of Dolet's reply in the shape of "six mauvaises petites odes." (La Croix du Maine.) *Rē* this controversy, *cf.* Lefranc, *Le Tiers Livre de Pantagruel et la querelle des femmes,* Rev. Et. Rab., Vol. II, pp. 1–10 and 78–109; Charles Oulmont, *op. cit.,* pp. 1–28 and 135–151; Copley Christie, *op. cit.,* pp. 113–117. *Cf. infra,* p. 533.

[1] *P. F.,* p. 33; *cf.* p. 529.

[2] *La Maniere de bien traduire d'une langue en aultre: D'avantage, de la punctuation de la langue Françoyse. Plus, Des accents d'ycelle. Cf.* Copley Christie, *op. cit.,* p. 354. Its publication preceded that of Sainte-Marthe's *Poesie Francoise* by some months. *Cf. infra,* p. 254.

[3] *P. F.,* p. 177, *cf.* pp. 254–258.

he gives him credit for the supreme possession of eloquence: *De la transportation d'Eloquence en divers Regions, par divers Aiges and divers personnaiges. Vers Alexandrins.*[1] Dolet returned his regard and expressed a somewhat intemperate appreciation of Sainte-Marthe's French style in a *huitain, Etienne Dolet A S. Marthe,* which the latter published with his own poems.[2]

Closely united to Dolet in friendship, so closely indeed that, according to Sainte-Marthe, one letter made all the difference between them,[3] was Sainte-Marthe's "singulier amy" the physician Tolet,[4] who was practising medicine at the "grand hospital." He loved and was beloved by a woman who was, Sainte-Marthe tells us,

[1] *P. F.*, p. 61. Copley Christie, who quotes it, refers to this as an ode to Dolet.

[2] *Livre de ses Amys. P. F.*, p. 232; *cf.* p. 544.

[3] *Sur l'amitié de luy & de Dolet. P. F.*, p. 11. Reprinted by Copley Christie, *op. cit.*, p. 346, and *cf.* C. B. (Breghot du Lut), *Melanges,* p. 361.

[4] *Rē* Tolet (*circ.* 1502–*post* 1582), *cf. Biog. Lyonnais;* La Croix du Maine and du Verdier, *Bibs. Franç.;* and Pernetti, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 391. Dolet has an epigram to him, *Carminum libri quatuor*, p. 55; Rabelais mentions him among his friends (*Œuvres*, Vol. II, p. 167); Charles Fontaine in his *Fontaine d'Amour* refers to Canape, Vace and Tolet as Phœbus, Machaon and Podalyre (fol. Pij r°).

one of the *beaux esprits* of Lyons, and whose writings were:

"d'une telle facture
Que par iceulx on cognoist ta nature.
Escripts, spirants un esprit tout divin
Et excedants le sexe feminin,
Escripts, perfaicts en tout, sans une faulte,
Escripts, monstrants ta nature estre haulte,
Escripts qui ont ma Muse (à bref parler)
Contraint vers toy, malgré qu'en eust, aller."

— *A la Dame & bien aymée de M. P. Tolet, Medicin du grand Hospital de Lyon, son singulier Amy.* *P. F.*, p. 172.

The love of Tolet and his mistress had in it a Platonic element which Sainte-Marthe appreciated and extolled, while Tolet in his turn praised the chastity of Sainte-Marthe's verse in a *dixain* addressed to the French poets of his day: *P. Tolet Medicin, aux Poetes Francoys du Livre de S. Marthe.*[1]

Another friend of the young poet's was Jacques Dalechamps,[2] combining, according to Charles

[1] *P. F.*, p. 234.

[2] *Rē* Dalechamps (1513–1588), *cf.* Moreri, *La France Prot.*, Pernetti, *op. cit.*, and Brunet. His portrait appears in the same collection as that of Sainte-Marthe (*cf. infra*, p. 220), where he is described as "Sieur d'Alechamps, un des plus doctes et rares personnages de nostre temps, tant en sa profession qu'en tout genre de bonnes lettres."

Fontaine,[1] notable science with divine grace, who was probably, in the intervals of his studies at Montpellier, merely visiting the city of which he was later to be the ornament. The two young men appear to have had in common enemies who pursued them with "art cault et damnable,"[2] and it is safe to suppose that the cause lay in their common unorthodoxy of opinion.

It was probably at Lyons also that Sainte-Marthe encountered another friend of Charles Fontaine's, François Veriust, canon or dean of Mâcon,[3] "noble de sang et noble de Vertu," to

[1] *Charles Fontaine à Jacques Dalechamps Medecin.*

"Tu marche avant dedens les champs
De l'immortelle Medecine,
Chassant maux les mortels fauchans,
Amy & voisin Dalechamps:
Aussi avec science insigne
Tu as une grace divine."

—*Odes, Enigmes et Epigrammes*, p. 97.

[2] *Cf.* p. 531.

[3] *Cf.* Charles Fontaine, *A Monsieur maistre Francoys Verius, Chanoine de Mascon. La Fontaine d'Amours*, fol. Lij v°. Possibly the son of "Thomas Le Conte dit Verjust," mentioned in the *Actes de François I* as deceased in 1519, leaving a child under age. *Gallia Christiana*, Vol. IV, col. 1110 A, refers to him as *N.* Verjust "quem Carolus Sammarthanus a generis claritate ingenio virtu-

whom he addressed an elegy on *true nobility*, *Elegie, A Monsieur Veriust, Doyen de Macon, De la vraye Noblesse;*[1] and it may have been at Lyons also that he knew Villiers, that "musicien tresperfaict" — on whose behalf he attacked in a rondeau the enemies of music,[2] — as well as Charles Du Puy, probably *lieutenant particulier* in the *Senechaussée* of Lyons.[3] Sainte-Marthe's old

tibus laudavit carminibus editis anno 1540." Dolet, on the other hand, has an epigram to *Jacobum* Veriusium. *Carmina*, p. 33.

[1] *P. F.*, p. 216.

[2] *A Villiers, Musicien tresperfect. P. F.*, p. 97. Probably the Villiers named by Rabelais among the musicians heard by Priapus "mignonnement chantans." *Œuvres*, Vol. II, p. 263.

[3] Supposing him the same whom Charles Fontaine addressed as *Monsieur du Puys, Lieutenant particulier en la Sennechausée de Lyon*, in a poem quaintly ending:

> "Mais je crains, car tu es grand Puys,
> Et je suis petite Fontaine."

La Fontaine d'Amour, fol. Lij r°; *cf.* also *Ruisseaux de Fontaine*, p. 171. Possibly son of Guillaume Dupuy, physician first at Grenoble and later at Romans, whose son Louis was afterwards a physician at Poitiers. Dreux du Radier, *op. cit.;* Bull. de la Soc. de Stat. d'Isère, Vol. III, p. 352. A Dupuy of Die was received doctor of law in 1536 at the University of Ferrara. Picot, *Les Français à l'Université de Ferrare au XV^e^ et au XVI^e^ Siècles.* He contributed a poem to Sainte-Marthe's *Livre de ses Amys.*

friend Visagier, who, like Ducher, had lately bitterly broken with Dolet,[1] was probably not at Lyons; nor was Marot, whose latest visit to the city had been — so far as is known — in 1538. Indeed it is difficult to determine where Sainte-Marthe could have formed with the latter the affectionate intimacy so evident in the poems he addresses to his "père d'alliance" [2] and, in all probability, dating back to Sainte-Marthe's student days.[3]

[1] *Cf.* Copley Christie, *op. cit.*, pp. 314–317.

[2] For the poems addressed to Marot *cf.* pp. 119, 234, 236, and 530.

[3] Sainte-Marthe has a poem to Marot, *Du faulx bruict de sa mort* (*cf.* p. 530). With this it is natural to connect Marot's *A Cravan, sien amy, malade. Œuvres*, Vol. III, p. 63.

"Amy Cravan, on t'a faict le rapport
Depuis un peu que j'estois trepassé;
Je prie à Dieu que le diable m'emporte
S'il en est rien, ne si j'y ay pensé.
Quelque ennemy a ce bruyt avancé," etc.

This is dated by Lenglet Dufresnoy 1531, when Sainte-Marthe was at Poitiers, and the temptation is strong to apply to the latter Marot's *A un jeune escolier docte, griefvement malade, ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 78), which begins "Charles mon filz prenez courage," taking it in connection with the conclusiǒns to two epigrams addressed by Sainte-Marthe to Marot: "Qui reprendra l'enfant qui suit son Père?" (*P. F.*, p. 55; *cf.* p. 234), and "Ays de ton Filz (O Père)

Friends such as his must have made it easy for Sainte-Marthe to become acquainted with the other Lyonnese to whom the city owed her proud place as a center of the French Renaissance, and who composed a brilliant society in which a rising scholar had every reason to feel sure of his place. And the large part which cultivated women played in it made certain its welcome to a defender of the sex. Such, as we have seen, Sainte-Marthe had proved himself. His reputation as a classicist and poet was also by this time well established. As early as 1538, he was *docta poeta* to Ducher; he had, while at Poitiers, already composed a theological work; Arlier had referred to his "learned writings," Montausier to his "bien reputée renomée"; and Sainte-Marthe himself rather ingeniously suggests his own distinction in his lines to Claudine Scève:

"C'est bien grand cas, en bruit estre nommé
Par un Autheur lequel soit renommé."
— *P. F.*, p. 158.

Souvenance." (*P. F. ibid; cf. infra*, p. 119). The family genealogist's assertion that Sainte-Marthe was praised by Marot may be based upon a tradition that this epigram was intended for him. (*Cf. Généalogie, de la Maison de Sainte-Marthe*, fol. 30 r°.)

It was probably at this time that his prosperity provoked the animosity of another scholar, possessed of a notoriously evil tongue.[1] Hubert Sussanée, none the less foul-mouthed and profligate that he was doctor both of law and medicine,[2] no doubt prejudiced against him by his friendship with Dolet with whom himself had quarreled, could not forgive Sainte-Marthe his good fortune. In the preceding February he had obtained, although on probation only, and under a strict surveillance which marked an interesting distrust of new schoolmasters, the post of municipal schoolmaster at Grenoble for which Sainte-Marthe had applied in October of the year before.[3] Two years later followed his dismissal by the *Consuls* for drunkenness, blasphemy, brawling, and inattention to his duties, a dismissal against which he appealed to the

[1] For Sussanée's attacks upon Tartas, for example, *cf.* Gaullieur, *op. cit.*, p. 65; for his break with Dolet and his epigrams upon him, *cf.* Copley Christie, *op. cit.*, pp. 37, 38 and note.

[2] The title of his *Ludi*, published in 1538 is: ***Huberti Sussanæi Legum et Medecinæ Doctoris Ludorum libri nunc recens conditi atque æditi.***

[3] Archives Municipales de Grenoble. BB. 12 Registre.

Parlement.[1] It was in 1542, the year of this disgrace, that he first published, in an edition of the *Quantitates* of Alexandre de Villedieu, a spiteful epigram upon Sainte-Marthe;[2] but, as the latter was in prison at the time,[3] it is clear that the satire was composed at an earlier and more enviable period. Nothing that we know of Sainte-Marthe appears to warrant its accusation of worldliness;

[1] Archives Municipales de Grenoble. BB. 13 fols. 22–23. It was complained against him that he was "homme de mavays exemple et tel que quant il a commencé ung livre il ne continue, sinon deux ou trois chappitres et puis en commence ung aultre et puis est blasfemeur de Dieu et la plupart du temps yvre, monstrant mauvays exemple aux escolliers pourtans espéez, se batant avecques l'un et avecques l'aultre, ne continuant la lecture et plusieurs aultres insolences et maulvays exemple, qu'est le grand dommaige, prejudice et interest des enfans escolliers et de toute la ville."

[2] *Quantitates Alexandri Galli, vulgo de villa dei, correctione adhibita ab Huberto Sussanaeo locupletatae, adjectis utilissimis adnotationibus, minimeque vulgaribus. Accesserunt accentuum regulae omnium absolutissimae, ex variis doctissimisque autoribus* (sic) *collectae, per eundem Sussanaeum. Additus est elegiarum ejusdem liber.* Paris, 1542. fol. 70. I owe the indication to the kindness of Professor Abel Lefranc.

[3] *Cf. infra*, p. 139.

In Samarthem

Te jactas evangelicum, tibi *Christus* in ore est,
Dicis Apostolico vivere dulce modo.
Dispiciamus an id vere falsone loquaris;
Subdola nam multis vox tua verba dedit.
Pauperiem *Christus* commendat. Vives cur te
Lautius, o gurges, splendidiusque juvat?
Tu sublimis equo veheris, servator *Iesus*
Huc illuc pedibus conficiebat iter.
Non tenuis pannus, sed corpus serica velant,
Mutuo sumpta tibi reddere nosse ferunt.
Gloriosae vanae turpine cupidine flagras?
Quam credis caelo vix quoque posse capi.
Cum sis tam mollis, tam luxu perditus omni,
Sin an Apostolico vivere more putas.

However little Sussanée's fling at Sainte-Marthe may have been justified, its testimony to the ease of the latter's situation is assuredly not negligible.

In any case, in his character of prosperous and distinguished dweller in the Southern Capital, Sainte-Marthe felt himself, shortly after his arrival, sufficiently identified with Lyons to take a share as peacemaker in the dispute between master-printers and journeymen, in which his friend Dolet was espousing the workmen's cause, and he indited a rondeau, *Aux Maistres*

& Compaignons de L'imprimerie de Lyon, estants ensemble differents.[1]

There were disputes in Lyons which more closely concerned him. A distressing condition of affairs prevailed at the *Collège de la Trinité*, where he held his new chair. Developed from a school to a college in 1527, and placed under municipal control, it had numbered among its principals sound men of wide reputation. Its present condition was far from satisfactory, however, for it had fallen into disorder owing to the inefficiency of its head, Claude de Cublize. Since the previous April the *régents* and *pédagogues* had been in a state of rebellion against him and had discontinued their lessons. The result had been "dissolutions et insolences" serious enough to make the town counselors fear for the very life of the College.[2] The most distinguished of the *régents*, Barthélémy Aneau,[3] who had probably arrived about 1533, and who taught rhetoric

[1] *P. F.*, p. 104; *cf.* p. 534.

[2] *Cf.* Archives de la Ville de Lyon, BB. 58, 29th of April, 1540.

[3] A book on the subject of Aneau is in preparation by Doctor J. L. Gerig of Columbia University.

in the College, had on the 29th of April drawn up a set of rules for its better discipline. His suggestions, sensible in the extreme, pleased the counselors, and on the 4th of May he appeared before them and applied for the office of principal, offering to go to Paris to procure suitable teachers.[1] There was much in the candidacy of the future author of the *Quintil Horatien* to attract the Council. A teacher of proved capacity, his publication of the *Chant Natal*[2] had just added new prestige to the College. If the Council found long and serious debate necessary before making its decision, we may hazard this to have been due to the religious proclivities of a man who had studied under the Protestant, Melchior Wolmar; proclivities to which in the end indeed he fell a martyr.[3] The discussion ended, however, with Aneau's appointment,[4] and he set out for Paris to seek

[1] *Cf.* Archives de la Ville de Lyon, BB. 58, fol. 61. "Le mardy IIII[e] jour de may l'an mil cinq cens quarante."

[2] Gryphe, Lyons, 1539.

[3] On June the 5th, 1561.

[4] Appointed in 1540, he resigned in 1550, and only resumed his functions in 1558 to save the college from ruin. Charvet, *Etienne Martellange*, pp. 216 and 217.

his assistants, and was absent on this errand when Sainte-Marthe arrived to begin his duties in the College. Cublize was still its nominal head. He had not as yet, in fact, been informed that he had been superseded, and Sainte-Marthe's appointment may have been an effort on his part to save the situation. It may equally have been an act of the Council's or even a suggestion of Aneau's. A warm friend of Dolet's,[1] an ardent admirer of Marot, whose translation of the *Metamorphoses* he was to continue,[2] the latter had literary as well as religious sympathies in common with the poet. And yet, after Aneau's return from Paris and the dismissal of Cublize on the 6th of July, emphatically repeated, in the face of his resistance, on the 20th of the month,[3] we find Sainte-Marthe, on August the 4th, offering to the Town-council

[1] *Cf.* his contribution in 1539 to the translation of Dolet's *Genethliacum, L'avant Naissance de Claude Dolet, filz de Estienne Dolet,* etc. Copley Christie, pp. 342 and 345.

[2] *Trois premiers livres de la Métamorphose d'Ovide, traduictz en vers francois, le premier et le second par Clément Marot, le tiers par Barthelemy Aneau,* etc. Lyon, Guil. Roville, 1556.

[3] Archives de la Ville de Lyon, BB. 58, fols. 81 and 84 v°.

suggestions for the government of the College which were laid aside to be compared with Aneau's.[1] He felt, no doubt, that his experience at Bordeaux fitted him to be helpful under circumstances which so oddly reproduced the crisis at the *Collège de Guyenne*. At the same time, his action suggests that he was not in touch with Aneau, and the fact that the volume of poems he published in September contains not a single mention of him may be corroborative. It seems, indeed, in view of these facts, not improbable that it was Aneau at whom Sainte-Marthe aimed certain verses containing a pointed reference to rhetoric:

" D'un qui reprenoit ses Œuvres.

Pour passe temps, en Francois & Latin,
J'ay composé quelqu' Œuvre poetique.
Eslevé s'est un glorieux mutin,
Qui me réprend. Ô Juge tresinique,
Qui tant scavant te dys en Rhetorique

[1] Le mardy quatriesme jour d'aoust mil cinq cens quarante. Messire Sarmatains, régent au colliège de la Trinité, est venu au present consulat exhiber certains articles contenans la forme de régir et gouverner le colliège de la Trinité lequel a esté veu par le Consulat et ordonné le conférer avec les articles qu'a baillé M. Barthelemy Aigne." Archives de la Ville de Lyon, BB. 58, fol. 88.

Ay je failly? monstre moy mon deffault.
N'ay je failly? qu'est ce donc qu'il te fault?
Pour te mesler ainsy de mon affaire?
Cognois un peu que jugement te fault,
Tu me reprends & n'en scaurois tant faire."[1]

If Sainte-Marthe's relations with Aneau were actually unfriendly, perhaps the latter's installation in office gave the signal for the poet's departure. The *régents* had already arrived by the 20th of July, the grace allowed Cublize was — in consequence it may be — shortened from October the first to the end of August, and it is significant that the last trace of Sainte-Marthe in Lyons is on the first of September. He dated on that day[2] his dedication to the

[1] *P. F.*, p. 58; *cf.* also *A un qui dehortoit de mettre ses Œuvres en lumière*, *P. F.*, p. 52; *cf.* p. 535.

[2] It is probable that Sainte-Marthe intended an earlier publication of his poems. A huitain to Colin, abbé of St. Ambroise near Bourges, begs his patronage, *A Monsieur l'Abbé de sainct Ambroise, il luy recommande ses Œuvres*. *P. F.*, p. 70. Now Colin fell out of favor at court about 1537. *Cf.* A. Heulhard, *Rabelais*, pp. 44, 222, 269; G. Guiffrey, ed. Marot, Vol. II, pp. 182 and 287, notes, and Vol. III, pp. 192 and 193, notes. M. Guiffrey, however, without comment on the discrepancy of dates, quotes a part of Sainte-Marthe's address to Colin as evidence of the latter's patronage of letters. Sainte-Marthe's volume contains neither *privilege* nor *achevé d'imprimer* to fix its date more closely.

Duchesse d'Estampes of his first publication of any importance, his *Poesie Francoise*. The dedication, urged upon him by his friend the duc de Montausier, gave Sainte-Marthe the opportunity of at once pleasing Saint-Maur, gaining a powerful friend in the Duchess, and being agreeable to the Queen of Navarre to whom Anne de Pisselieu was bound by ties of interest and perhaps of affection.[1] The very source of his troubles, too, the odium of heresy which still clung to him, was enough to recommend him to the Duchess,[2] and he hoped great things from the interest of the "pearl of France." [3] It was to be the means of releasing

[1] *Cf.* Florimond de Rœmond, *Histoire de l'hérésie.* Book VII, p. 849.

[2] *Cf. ibid.*, p. 847.

[3] Besides the formal dedicatory letter Sainte-Marthe has seven poems addressed or dedicated to the duchess, *i.e.*:

(1) *A Madame la Duchesse d'Estampes, luy presentant ses Œuvres. P. F.*, p. 9. Huitain.

(2) *De Madame la Duchesse d'Estampes. P. F.*, p. 20. Huitain.

(3) *A Madame la Duchesse d'Estampes. P. F.*, p. 37. Huitain.

(4) *A Madame la Duchesse d'Estampes. P. F.*, p. 62. Dixain, begging her patronage.

(5) *A Madame la Duchesse d'Estampes, luy recommandant son Œuvre. P. F.*, p. 82. Rondeau.

him from all his distress, and he begs Marot's approval that he may make the more sure of her favor:

"Tu veois, Marot, quel moyen j'ay trouvé
Donnant mon Œuvre à la Perle de France,
De me tirer hors de toute souffrance.
Approuves lé, desjà est approuvé
Reproues lé, desjà est reprouvé,
Ays de ton Filz (Ô Pere) souvenance."
— *A luy mesme, luy recommendant ses Œuvres, vers Madame la Duchesse d'Estampes.* *P. F.*, p. 55.

Saint-Maur's advice as to the dedication was not the only good turn he did Sainte-Marthe. He appears to have attempted to reconcile the vagrant scholar to his family: "Si ton Pere, que je cognoy bien estimé par ses Vertus & lettres, peut au long estre adverty, ta perigrination avoir esté exercée en scavoir & louable vie; aura merveilleusement aggreable ton heureux & desiré retour, faisant le debvoir paternel. De tes Freres ils ne fauldront au naturel & deu commandé, & te peux persuader que tu en

(6) *A Madame La Duchesse d'Estampes.* *P. F.*, p. 125. Epistle (120 lines).

(7) *Elegie. Du Tempé de France, en l'honneur de Madame la Duchesse d'Estampes.* *P. F.*, p. 197. *Cf.* p. 537 *et seq.*

as aulcuns desquels useras comme de toy."[1] Although Sainte-Marthe in his poetical reply to this letter, already quoted,[2] seems to treat the suggestion with intentional indifference, some better understanding seems to be implied by the insertion, in the volume, of a poem addressed to his father: *A Son Seigneur & Pere, Medicin & conseiller ordinaire du Roy. Il luy rend raison de sa Poesie Francoise, le consolant de ses adversites.*[3]

Saint-Maur's letter on the subject, dated from Hyères on the 20th of June, was inserted by Sainte-Marthe in the *Livre de ses Amys*, containing complimentary verses from his more distinguished friends, with which, following a custom of the times, he concluded the volume.[4] The names of the contributors are of interest; Bigot, Dolet and Scève are the most distinguished, and Sainte-Marthe sets them first, in that order. Then follow those of Pierre de Marillac, Exupère de Claveyson, Tolet, Maurice Chausson, Jean Roboam, Iean Benac, A. de Ville-

[1] *Cf.* p. 601. [2] *Cf. supra*, p. 87 *et seq.* [3] *P. F.*, p. 148.
[4] A custom followed for example by Ducher, Dolet, Bourbon, Duchesne, Salel, etc.

neuve, Charles du Puy,[1] Le Chevalier Grenet. The collection itself Sainte-Marthe dedicated to Avanson in recognition of his kindness to him at Grenoble.[2]

The publication of the poems within a few months after his arrival at Lyons indicates that Sainte-Marthe felt himself fairly safe from further attack on account of his views; for the volume, although it contained a poem or two calculated to set at rest doubts of his orthodoxy, such as *A tous Chrestiens. En la personne de la vièrge, Mere de Dieu,* and *Qu'on cognoist la vive & vraye Foy par les Œuvres,*[3] was by no means free from elements open to suspicion. Such was the emphasis upon aspects of faith purposely left in abeyance by the church: a stress which was coming to be more and more characteristic of the new reformers. The doctrine of grace, for example, is uncompromisingly stated in the poem which opens the third book of the *Poesie Francoise:*

[1] *Charles du Puy, a Madamoiselle Beringue, l'Amye de Monsieur de S. Marthe. Livre de ses Amys. P. F.*, p. 236.

[2] *Cf.* p. 564 *et seq.*

[3] *P. F.*, pp. 45 and 62.

A Dieu Confession de son infirmite, & Invocation de sa Grace

"Je scay (Seigneur) je scay, telle est ma Foy,
Que les Humains ne peuvent rien de soy,
Que se donner aulcun bien ilz ne peuvent,
Né decliner le mal quand ilz le treuvent
Si telle force ilz n'ont par ton moyen.
De toy (Seigneur) vient le mal et le bien, etc."[1]

Again, salvation by faith is the note of the long *Elegie du vray bien & nourriture de l'Ame*,[2] and predestination and election are strongly stressed in more than one place, as, for instance, in an *Elegie*,[3] wherein the poet celebrates

"le puissant uueil
De celuy la, qui sur nous seul domine,
Et qui les maulx augmente, ou bien termine,
Ainsi qu'il veult, à iceulx mesmement,
Qui sont Esleux, des leur commencement;"

or again in certain lines of the *Elegie de l'Ame*

[1] *P. F.*, p. 115, and *cf.* the whole poem, p. 113 *et seq.* *Cf.* also the *dixain: Qu'on ne se doibt en rien trop priser né depriser* and *A Dieu, Invocation de sa grace. Ibid.*, pp. 65 and 81.

[2] *P. F.*, p. 210.

[3] *Elegie en forme d'Epistre, à Monsieur le Chevalier de Monthozier Que à qui Jesus ayde, rien ne peut nuyre. P. F.*, p. 207.

parlante au Corps, & monstrante le proffit de la Mort:[1]

"Considerant en toy, que tous, jeunes & vieulx,
Ont l'heure de leur Mort du Seigneur destinée,
Pour jouyr de la gloire aux bons predestinée."

Such sentiments, in themselves likely to be looked at askance, had a more serious aspect considered in connection with the omission, from all the religious poems, of any mention of saints or of other intercession than that of the Saviour.[2] His imitation of Marot, moreover, in metrical paraphrase of a psalm—the One hundred and twentieth[3]—not rendered by the greater poet, would hardly recommend Sainte-Marthe to the orthodox, nor would insistence upon the purely spiritual nature of the Sacrament in a *Balade double, contenant la promesse de Christ, sa Nativite, Passion, Resurrection, &*

[1] *Vers Alexandrins. P. F.*, pp. 214–216.

[2] An omission especially noticeable in a *Balade du proffit de la Mort de Jesu Christ*, and in a *dixain*: *Jesu Christ estant en Croix parle à un chascun Chrestien*, *P. F.*, pp. 108–110 and 73, which contains the expression "Seul suis ton Dieu, seul suis ton saulvement," and "Vien droict à moy sans avoir deffiance."

[3] *P. F.*, p. 48.

precieux sacrement de Son Corps, icy à nous delaissé pour gaige de Salut:[1]

"Car il luy est un seur & riche gaige,
De prendre part au Celeste heritaige,
Si par Foy veult son Cueur y arrester,
Et l'arrestant, par Foy plus le gouster
Que par la Chair, qui le contraire clame,
Car on ne peut de ceste chair taster
Le divin pain, nourriture de l'Ame."

Here Sainte-Marthe at least verges upon one of the doctrines of Luther expressly condemned by the theological faculty of Paris in 1521, *i.e.* that the faith of the recipients constitutes the efficacy of sacraments.[2] Nor is he upon safer ground when he speaks of the Scriptures as the incorruptible bread of the soul:

"Nourrisez la du pain incorruptible:
C'est l'escript sainct, c'est la sacrée Bible."[3]

The young poet showed still less discretion in attacking the doctors of the Sorbonne under the name of "sophists" in a *rondeau double*,[4] though

[1] *P. F.*, pp. 110–112.

[2] *Cf.* Jervis, *Hist. of the Church of France.* Vol. I, p. 116.

[3] *Elegie du vray bien & nourriture de l'Ame. P. F.*, p. 213.

[4] *Aux Sophistes, P. F.*, p. 95. In his funeral oration on Marguerite of Navarre, nine years later, Sainte-Marthe writes, "le nom de Sophiste, jadis tandis honorable, est

he was safe enough when he pilloried those common butts of the satirists, the religious orders. Two of his epigrams upon Franciscans[1] are worth quoting on their own merits:

Epitaphe d'un Cordelier, lequel, en sa vie, avoit tousjours presché que ses merites estoient suffisants à le saulver; sans la Grace de Dieu.

"Icy repose un grand religieux
De Sainct Francois, qui, pour porter la haire,
Et d'un habit, à plusieurs odieux,
Par le dehors l'homme sainct contrefaire,
A heu pouvoir par ses Œuvres perfaire
Ce que n'ont peu les Apostres jadis.
Ô benoist froc, qui a peu le bien faire
De meriter, sans Grace, Paradis."

Du mesme, parlant apres sa Mort à ses Frères.[2]

"Sus, lisez tous Freres, diligemment
Que dit l'Escot du merite condigne,
Car l'on m'a dit icy apertement
A me saulver mon Merite estre indigne.
Mais j'ay monstré à Jesus Christ, par signe,
Qu'il ne devoit me faire tel exces.
Lisez, lisez, en ce Docteur tresdigne,
Car j'ay espoir d'en gagner mon proces."

aujourd'huy odieus à tous bons esprits par l'opiniastreté d'un tas de babillards questionnaires." . . . p. 42.

[1] *P. F.*, p. 46.

[2] It is followed by an epigram *A un du pareil ordre, qui en preschant, donnà la Foy au Diable.*

The impression left by a perusal of his poems, strongly corroborated by the names of those upon whom he counts for patronage is that — whatever he may have wished Faucher to believe — Sainte-Marthe still leaned no less strongly towards "reform" than when at Poitiers. The support of Marguerite of Navarre and the duchess d'Étampes, however it may have protected a heretic, did not enhance a man's reputation for orthodoxy; Marot's name was still *anathema* to many; and Montausier's concluding salutation sufficiently indicates the direction of his sympathies: "Je supply l'Eternel, nostre justificateur & dateur de toutes graces, nous conduire en spirituelle vie."[1]

Despite the sense of safety shown by Sainte-Marthe's comparative freedom of expression, his place in Lyons, whether from that or other causes, was less secure than he, no doubt, supposed. We know nothing actually of the immediate reasons, nor indeed the actual date, of his departure from the city. Probably, as has been said, Cublize's dismissal had something to do with it; perhaps, too, now his volume was

[1] *Cf.* p. 601.

out, he had reason to fear that, after all, the imprudences of his *Poesie Francoise* were dangerous at a time when persecutions were growing daily more severe and frequent, especially in the Dauphiné and Provence;[1] for the poems, no doubt, as the family genealogist sagely remarks, "furent receus du publique selon les divers sentiments des personnes de ce temps la."[2] All we know is that early in the following year Sainte-Marthe had committed himself to a bold step, and — following the example of Eustorg de Beaulieu, Cordier and Zebedée[3] — had taken refuge in Geneva. On the 6th of February, 1541, Viret mentions him in a letter to Calvin[4] urging the latter's return to Geneva where all favor his reappearance, and everything demands his "healing hand": "Sainte-

[1] *Cf.* letter of Viret, *cit. infra.*

[2] *Généalogie de la Maison de Sainte-Marthe*, fol. 25 r°.

[3] Maturin Cordier had reached Geneva by 1537, but since his banishment at the end of 1538 he had been in charge of the College of Neuchatel. *Cf.* Buisson, *op. cit.*, pp. 127–129. Zebedée had been pastor at Orbe since 1538. He was still in good odor with the reformers, though his praise of Zwingli had already given offense to Calvin. *Cf.* Herminjard, *op. cit.*, Vol. VI, p. 191.

[4] Herminjard, *op. cit.*, no. 939, Vol. VII, p. 13.

Marthe," continues Viret, "a very learned man, whom I take to be well known to you by name, arrived here at once upon hearing that I was here, and you shortly looked for; whom we hope easily to persuade to settle here as soon as he has cared for certain of his affairs, and especially his betrothed to whom he has not long been pledged."

CHAPTER IV

1541: PERSECUTION AT GRENOBLE

It was Sainte-Marthe's fortune to light upon distracted moments in every college that he was called to serve. That of Geneva, reorganized by the same council that proclaimed the Reform in 1536, had benefited by Calvin's interest until his banishment two years before. Since then, its head Saunier and his great assistant Cordier exiled, it had languished under chance masters, and was at the moment ruled by the sickly and inefficient Agnet Buissier.[1] And Sainte-Marthe, proposed to the Council on the 14th of February[2] by Jacques Bernard and

[1] *Cf.* Buisson, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 129.

[2] "Les seigneurs prédicans Jaques Bernard et Champereaulx hont exposé comment ils hont entendus que maystre Agnet, régent des escholes ne peult satisfayre az son office, et que ill y az icy ung home bien propice pour exercy ledit office, nommé Martanus, priant il havoyer advys." Registre du Conseil de Genève, Lundi, 4me février, 1541. *cit.* (*partim*) Herminjard, *op. cit.*, Vol. VII, p. 15, n. 7.

Champereaulx "Seigneurs predicans," was now invited to succeed him. Calvin himself expressed his approval of the choice in the reply to Viret, dated April the second, which gave his reasons for not wishing to return to Geneva.[1]

Weeks before that letter was penned, however, Sainte-Marthe had ventured into France again, hoping to arrange his affairs and to bring his bride — Mlle. Beringue it may be presumed — back to Geneva. He ventured, in fact, not only into France, but within the jurisdiction of the Grenoble *Parlement*. He had left Geneva by the last day of February and the Council were at that time still awaiting his return and insisting that Buissier should remain until his arrival.[2]

It was not until April that sad news of him

[1] "*De Sammarthano placet quod Senatus ei bonam spem fecit.*" Herminjard, *op. cit.*, Vol. VII, No. 958. *cit.* Buisson, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 132, n. 3.

[2] "Pour ce que maystre Martanus doybt venyr régenter les escholes, ordonné que maystre Agnet serve jusquez à sa venue en le contenant de sa poienne, et puys apres, qu'il soyt mys az Sategnyez pour prédicant soub le salayre de deux cent florins." Registre du Conseil de Genève, lungdi dernier februarii, 1541. *cit.* Buisson, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 132, n. 2; and Herminjard, *op. cit.*, Vol. VII, p. 15, n. 7.

reached Geneva. Reaching France in the midst of ever increasing persecution, especially virulent at Romans and Grenoble[1] among other places, he had been cast into prison again in the latter place. Viret wrote the news to the pastors of Zurich on the 27th of April, in a letter sufficiently expressive of the consideration which Sainte-Marthe enjoyed. "There is no one," he says, "although all are most dear to us, whose bonds have brought deeper sorrow to our hearts than those of Sainte-Marthe, a man of much learning and piety, by whose care we hoped that the college of Geneva, fallen and so wretchedly cast down, might be happily set up, and good letters restored to their first luster, which, after the banishment of our brothers, have lain in the dust in the situation of despised and neglected things; especially at this time when the Lord has so pitied that unhappy church that the fruit and success of the Gospel has far exceeded the hope of all. But the Lord saw otherwise, lest aught should be in all respects blessed, Who has ordained that we should have no perfect

[1] *Cf.* Viret to the Zurich Pastors, Herminjard, *op. cit.*, Vol. VII, No. 968.

joy in this mortal state, unfaded by touch of sadness. The affairs of the Genevans were proceeding most happily and receiving day by day further advancement; but that ill chance greatly hinders our efforts. We have now everything in hand. Now is the very point of time and most opportune occasion for restoring all things fallen to decay. But men worthy to be commended for doctrine and piety, who could suffice to this, are lacking." [1]

It is easy to understand that a man held in such esteem at Geneva was welcome prey to the intolerant element in the Grenoble *Parlement*. The remarkable thing is that Sainte-Marthe failed to realize his danger himself. Not content with venturing once more — for whatever cogent reasons — within the jurisdiction of that *Parlement*, he did not hesitate to attack the reputation of his personal enemies and to attempt to bring them to punishment. If, to procure his death, they risked fortune and well-being, one motive, on their victim's own confession, was their fear "lest by [his] activity and that of [his] friends they should be treated

[1] Herminjard, *op. cit.*, Vol. VII, No. 968.

as they deserved and painted in their true colors," [1] — "which they cannot possibly avoid," adds Sainte-Marthe, who indeed has left a lively picture of them. We behold the spiteful hypocrite Mulet, ignorant official, cruel and faithless husband, suborning witnesses, perverting judgment, bent upon revenge, burning with hate and malice;[2] while Faysan, a shameful and unlettered dotard, the tool of his abler companion, misuses his office to satisfy private spite.[3] With such enemies in high places the outcome could not be doubtful. "It is not hid from me, O Lord," the young man exclaims in his paraphrase of the Seventh Psalm, "that it stands ill with him who

[1] Ded. to Avanson. *In Psalmum . . . xxxiii Paraphrasis*, p. 141. *Cf.* p. 579.

[2] "Professus quidam es apud Ecclesiam, set quid juvat Christianum nomen profiteri & non Christianè vivere? Adulterio thorum maritalem polluere & loco repudiatæ sine caussa uxoris scortum alere, testes corrumpere, iudicia invertere, vindictæ cupiditate deflagrare & innoxium sanguinem sitire, si vera esset Christianismi non scripsisset Paulus, etc." *In Psalmum Septimum . . . Paraphrasis*, pp. 112 and 113. "Isti cupiditatem vindictæ ac crudelitatis suæ, nullo sanguine satiare possunt." *In Psalmum . . . xxxiii Paraphrasis*, p. 166.

[3] Ded. to Avanson. *In Psalmum . . . xxxiii Paraphrasis*, p. 140.

falls by chance into the hands of a man with whom he has had a capital difference."[1]

Sainte-Marthe was an easy object of attack. Even supposing him to have been partly exonerated after his previous imprisonment, he had now added to his offences the publication of his poems and a visit if not a flight to Geneva. However, to make the matter even surer in the case of a man so well provided with influential friends in the place, the accusation against him was tinged with political color. "I am dragged like a malefactor," writes the victim, "into the councils of the great, and am led before the judges as an evil doer and subverter of the commonwealth."[2] "I hear them crying," he says again, "'let him be slain and burned alive, he is a seducer of the populace, he is an impostor and a sower of false and impious doctrine. He has turned from the Christian religion to the heretical party and has so entangled himself in their factions that he cannot be loosed from them. . . . He is a perverter of our people, a scorner of our institutions, utter-

[1] *In Psalmum Septimum . . . Paraphrasis*, p. 27.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 70.

ing naught but what is directly contrary to orthodox faith.' With such bitter execrations they deafen the judges' ears and my own also." [1] "Thou art my witness," he exclaims elsewhere, "how unjustly I am accused of a capital crime: I who was never seditious, and never inflamed, nor, as they cast up at me, seduced the people." [2]

It was easy to confuse religious and political theories in the first half of the sixteenth century; for a perfectly genuine misapprehension of the "reformers'" doctrines existed in many minds. The element dangerous to established power, which the new doctrines actually contained, was, no doubt, however vaguely, present in the consciousness of those who held them as of those who did not. A general dread of the Anabaptist teaching, which pushed this vague element to unwelcome conclusions, was shared no less by what may be called the orthodox heretic than by the orthodox Catholic, and the reformers were as eager to escape the odium attached to the name and doctrine of the Anabaptists, as were

[1] *In Psalmum Septimum . . . Paraphrasis*, p. 24.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 30.

their enemies to confound together all unorthodox opinion.

"Poinct ne suis lutheriste,
Ne zuinglien et moins anabaptiste."

So ran Marot's disclaimer nearly fifteen years earlier,[1] naming the three sects which, in the common mind, represented heresy. "No difference is made," Sturm had written from Paris as late as 1535, "between an Anabaptist, an Erasmian, or a Lutheran; all, without distinction, are oppressed and led to judgment; no one is safe but the Papist;"[2] and Sturm's enumeration points to the fact that precisely what humanists and reformers had in common led to the confusion of their doctrine with that of Anabaptists. The right of free inquiry, dear to the humanist as to the reformer, not only threatened the authority of the church, but ran directly contrary to the unifying tendency which was the political note of the moment. It is easy to see what capital unscrupulous bigots could

[1] *Marot à monsieur Bouchart docteur en théologie*, *Œuvres*, Vol. I, p. 153.

[2] Sturm to Bucer, March the 10th, 1535. Herminjard, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 273. *cit.* Guiffrey, *Œuvres de Clément Marot*, Vol. III, p. 71, n.

make of the inherent distrust or alarmed ignorance which prevailed in the minds of princes and people with regard to the new doctrines. Sainte-Marthe is loud in his complaint of such. "Now they urge [against us]" he writes, "pretended crimes that shall lightly excite the light people; now dreadful ones that shall have power to influence against us the hearts of princes: namely that we are seditious, that we stir up the people with our doctrine."[1] "How many courtly governors, how many hunters after emolument, how many hypocrites of different colors," he exclaims elsewhere, "are there to-day who whisper into the ears of princes and magistrates, that the preachers of evangelical doctrine teach the community of all goods, and hence are taking from them government, honors, power and the very sword, condemning all good deeds and confounding everything?"[2] A few years earlier, in the year of Sturm's letter, a far greater than Sainte-Marthe had uttered a similar complaint: "Sire," wrote Calvin in the dedication to François I. of his great work, "Sire, par combien fausse calom-

[1] *In Psalmum Septimum . . . Paraphrasis*, p. 40.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 127–128.

nies elle" (*i.e.* the new doctrine), "est tous les jours diffamee envers vous: c'est assavoir qu'elle ne tend à autre fin sinon que tous regnes et polices soyent ruinees, la paix soit troublee, les loix abolies, les seigneuries et possessions dissipees: bref, que toutes choses soyent renversees en confusion."[1] The disclaimer was needed; for the king inclined to this view of the religion of Luther, "disant qu'elle," says Brantôme, "et toute autre nouvelle secte tendoient plus à la destruction des royaumes, des monarchies, et dominations nouvelles, qu'à l'edification des âmes."[2]

As a fact, the *Poesie Francoise* contained a dixain which might have been interpreted by a strict eye as favoring one of the Anabaptist doctrines, although we do not know that it came into question:

Foy, Esperance, & Charité n'estre qu'un

"Foy sans Amour, ne peut estre Foy vive,
Car vive Foy œuvre par Charité.
Et de ces deux, Esperance derive
Qui nous conduit à vivre en purité.

[1] *Institution de la Relig. Chrét.* Cols. 10 and 11. *Cf. supra*, p. 40.

[2] *Œuvres*, Vol. VIII, p. 116.

Nous esperons ce que la Verité
Nous a promis en croyant, par ainsy
Accomplissons ce qu'il commande aussy,
C'est d'avoir tout (comme Freres) commun
Par Charité. Donc je metz par cecy,
Foy, Charité, & l'Esperance en un."
— *P. F.*, p. 44.

In any case, it was as a suspected Lutheran and fomenter of sedition that Sainte-Marthe, apparently one of a number in the same situation,[1] was thrown into prison,[2] no judgment having

[1] When freed he thus addresses his fellow prisoners: "Vos itaque, qui mecum communem habuistis carceris asperitatem et persecutiones, quam tam longo tempore sustuli, incredibilem prope molestiam: ostendite vere fratres et amicos esse vos, et mecum, ob consecutam a Deo libertatem, gaudete & exultate." *In Psalmum . . . xxxiii Paraphrasis*, p. 153.

[2] All Sainte-Marthe's biographers, from the family genealogist to M. de Longuemare, place his persecution and imprisonment at Grenoble, if they mention it at all, before his appointment to the *Collège de la Trinité* at Lyons and the publication of the *Poesie Francoise*, although *La France Protestante* suggests, in a note, that Sainte-Marthe's stay at Lyons may have been anterior to his experience at Grenoble. Even Herminjard (*op. cit.*, Vol. VII, p. 91, n.), in a note on Sainte-Marthe's imprisonment, adds, "on ne peut pas conclure que ce fut en 1541 qu'il fut jeté dans un affreux cachot à Grenoble et retenu prisonier pendant deux ans et demi." The facts are as follows: Both Faucher, on June the 29th, 1540, and Viret, on April the 27th, 1541, speak of Sainte-

yet been pronounced against him. He has left a vivid account of his sufferings while incarcerated.

Marthe as imprisoned at the moment; but Montausier's congratulations on the Lyons appointment were almost synchronous with Faucher's letter, and make it clear that Sainte-Marthe's imprisonment was over by the time the latter penned his condolences. At that time, then, his confinement could not have lasted two years and a half as he declared that it did; for Sainte-Marthe was at Romans on the 28th of the preceding October. If we suppose Faucher to have late news of a long imprisonment in Grenoble which took place before Sainte-Marthe went to Romans, it must at latest have begun within something like three weeks of the time of Sainte-Marthe's letter to Calvin in 1537 (*cf.* p. 44), at which time Sainte-Marthe was established as a lecturer at Poitiers. Aside from the improbability of his having been driven from Poitiers, made the acquaintances in the Dauphiné which we know he did before 1540, reached Grenoble and there suffered an imprisonment of two and a half years, all within the time admissible, his application from Romans for a post at Grenoble immediately after escaping thence ruined and banished, would have been at least extraordinary, the Council's consideration of it still more so. Moreover, the indignant letter to Dufour, and dedications to Galbert and Avanson, dated respectively April the 7th, June the 15th, and July the 1st, 1543 (*cf. infra*), evidently refer to recent sufferings; and the impression that they do so is much strengthened by a comparison of the generalities of the 1540 dedication to Avanson with the indignant heat of that of 1543 requesting Avanson to defend the poet's reputation, certain to be attacked by enemies balked of his blood, — a singular request if writ-

"More cruelly used than are assassins, thieves, murderers, robbers, ravishers and men of desperate life," he was left to struggle with vermin in a solitary, dark, and fetid tower. He had one consolation, however; a copy of the Psalms had been left him. It did more than console him indeed. Reflections on the Thirty-third Psalm (the Thirty-fourth in our version), and on the circumstances which inspired it, David's escape, namely, from the king of Gath, suggested to him David's device. He pretended insanity, and was at once given larger liberty, — enough at

ten after an interval of three years. (*Cf.* pp. 567 and 580.) The poems of 1540 also offer corroboratory evidence. The inexplicit and moderate tone of their complaints of ill fortune contrast sharply with the bitter resentment of the dedications of the Paraphrases. In view of Sainte-Marthe's assertion that he was imprisoned "menses prope triginta" (Ded. to Galbert. *In Psalmum Septimum . . . Paraphrasis*, p. 10, *cf. infra*, p. 570), it is safe to conclude that the earlier imprisonment was a mere prelude to the second, whose maximum (supposing the letter to Dufour *cit. infra* p. 148 *et seq.*, written from prison) would be from a date between the 14th and the end of February, 1541 (*cf.* pp. 129–131), to a date shortly before June the 15th, 1543 (*cf.* p. 161); and whose minimum (supposing Sainte-Marthe free before writing the letter to Dufour) from a date shortly before April the 27th, 1541 (*cf* p. 131), to a date shortly before March the 9th, 1543 (*cf.* p. 152).

least to wander through some of the passages of the prison.[1]

This privilege put him in fresh spirits, and gave him hope. "This small liberty," he writes to his protector Avanson, "called me to a sure hope that He who had begun to free me step by step, would at length some day wholly enlarge me. This my enemies, however, neither desired nor expected; and, in fact, those who wished my safety secured no less than their own, began to despair. That bowed-head (to fill whose office a swineherd or cowherd were worthier) left no stone unturned that by fair means or foul I might be burned alive."[2] The efforts made by Mulet and Faysan to have capital sentence pronounced upon him were extraordinary: "Grenoble knows these two well enough," Sainte-Marthe continues, "it knows, I say, that they devoted themselves with the whole force of their mind to my ruin, and neglected no device that they might glut with my blood the

[1] For these details *cf.* Ded. to Avanson *In Psalmum . . . xxxiii Paraphrasis*, p. 139, *cf. infra*, p. 578, and *In Psalmum Septimum . . . Paraphrasis*, p. 21.

[2] Ded. to Avanson *In Psalmum . . . xxxiii Paraphrasis*, pp. 139 and 140. *Cf. infra*, p. 578.

unquenchable thirst of their spite." And again: "They swore my death not only at the expense of their fortunes, but of their safety."[1] "Save me from my visible enemies," he exclaims in his paraphrase of the Seventh Psalm, "who wish me to be slain accused of a false crime, who are risen against me with all their might. They [are] high and mighty indeed, I lowly; they armed, I unarmed; they rich, I poor; they honored, I despised; they free, I bound; they conquerors, I vanquished; they happy in this world, I cast down, most wretched of them all, if indeed it be unhappy and wretched to suffer harm for Thy name and for righteousness."[2] "No blood," he declares again, "can satisfy their lust of hate and cruelty."[3]

The result of such hateful energy seemed certain. "In so many and great dangers who would not doubt of his safety?" says Sainte-Marthe.[4] Mulet at first tried by persuasion and threats to induce the personal friends of the

[1] Ded. to Avanson *In Psalmum . . . xxxiii Paraphrasis*, pp. 140 and 141.

[2] *In Psalmum Septimum . . . Paraphrasis*, p. 21.

[3] *In Psalmum . . . xxxiii Paraphrasis*, p. 166.

[4] *Ibid.*, Ded. to Avanson, p. 141.

accused man to testify against him. Failing this, he attempted with more success to suborn other witnesses. "I address you, mine Enemy," writes Sainte-Marthe, "who left no stone unturned that I might be convicted of a capital offense, and, when you saw my innocence so manifest as to be above suspicion, obtained witnesses whose false evidence you bought with money. You burned indeed for my destruction and desired nothing more than to behold this wretched body consumed by flames and reduced to ashes."[1] Meanwhile Mulet's accomplice, whom Sainte-Marthe refers to as *Sisamnis*, — almost certainly a name for Faysan based upon some allusion which escapes us to-day, — fitted into his plans "as the lid fits the pot" and played at once the part of prosecutor and of judge.[2] The two attempted to browbeat Sainte-Marthe, perhaps also to entrap him into a confession or at least into compromising admissions, boasting that he was entangled beyond hope of escape. "Lions," he complains, "have but teeth and

[1] *In Psalmum Septimum . . . Paraphrasis*, p. 112.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 40, and Ded. *In Psalmum . . . xxxiii Paraphrasis*, p. 140. *Cf. infra*, p. 579.

claws, visible arms with which to attack, but these have sharp and poisoned tongues, hidden arms with which they beset me secretly from ambush and attempted to pierce me through. . . . The more I abased myself the more enraged they became." [1]

However, in spite of their efforts, they could not induce the *Parlement* of Grenoble to pass sentence. Galbert ardently espoused Sainte-Marthe's cause, even at the risk of compromising himself, and, apparently, formally undertook his defense.[2] Avanson, even at this date a patron of letters, — Sainte-Marthe speaks of his "in meliores literas propensissima voluntas," [3] — interested himself keenly in the fate of a scholar to whom he was already indebted for a dedication, and to whom he had before this shown signal kindness. Moreover, the scandal of a persecution so evidently personal provoked popular sympathy. "Those who were not entirely in sympathy with me," says Sainte-Marthe, "when I was cast into prison became in a moment my

[1] *In Psalmum . . . xxxiii Paraphrasis*, p. 165.

[2] Ded. to Galbert *In Psalmum Septimum . . . Paraphrasis*, p. 16. *Cf. infra*, p. 574.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 42.

intimate friends and the warmest defenders of my cause. Those who knew me not at all unless merely by name or sight, yea, even those to whom I was utterly unknown, wept at the very mention of my misfortunes, bewailed my situation and condition, consigned my enemies to all perdition, and, so far as they could (for it was not always allowed them), aided me with their means."[1] With these forces on Sainte-Marthe's side, his case could not easily be brought to a hasty and bloody conclusion. It dragged on for two years or more, while the unfortunate scholar languished in prison, hourly expecting an ignominious and cruel death, determined upon, so he supposed, long beforehand.[2] But if the *Parlement* would not condemn, neither would it free him. During his imprisonment, it received, like the *Parlements* of Paris, Bordeaux, Dijon, and Rouen, especial commands to execute rigorously the ordinances against heretics;[3] and Sainte-Marthe, like other suspects, doubtless felt the consequences of this.

[1] *In Psalmum . . . xxxiii Paraphrasis*, p. 164.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 155.
[3] *Actes de François I*, No. 12709.

He was indeed in wretched case. Ruined, needy, destitute, and despoiled of all his possessions,[1] damaged in reputation, an exile from his own countryside, in a "barbarous and Scythian land" far from friends and kin, he could hope for no help from these[2] even were they disposed to help, and this was uncertain enough. "I can bear witness in my own person," writes Sainte-Marthe later, "saluted, now that I am freed from prison, by many a kinsman and acquaintance, who, as long as I languished in prison, behaved not merely unlike relations and friends, but even unlike acquaintances, so far were they from performing the office of relations and friends."[3]

However, — for all his complaints, — Sainte-Marthe, as we have seen, did not lack powerful friends; and he now bethought him of yet an-

[1] "Obscurus vivo, abjectus, egens, destitutus, ac meis plane rebus omnibus spoliatus. Ego pauper, adflictus, oppressus, infamia a mundo aspersus, explosus, & qui tot sum in carcere incommoda perpessus." *In Psalmum . . . xxxiii Paraphrasis*, p. 162.

[2] "Atque eripuit (Deus) ab iis (tribulationibus) me & Parentum, Amicorum atque omnium prope hominum ope auxilio destitum." *Ibid.*, p. 147, and Ded., p. 141. *Cf.* p. 597.

[3] *In Psalmum . . . xxxiii Paraphrasis*, p. 190.

other who might stand him in good stead. He had had leisure in his prison for composition, and had written several paraphrases of psalms, one of the Seventh, David's cry under such false calumny as he felt to be his lot also, and one — not extant — of the One hundred and eighteenth. The first of these paraphrases he now sent to Louis Dufour,[1] a monk of that Dominican order able, as official inquisitors of the faith, to be of immense service to a man in Sainte-Marthe's circumstances. Perhaps he had known Dufour when a student of theology at Poitiers; at all events, the monk, with some slight reservations, approved of the Paraphrase, and exerted himself to gain for his friend the formal approbation of his Order. Sainte-Marthe thanked him in a letter dated March the 9th, 1543, a letter in which, it must be confessed, his eagerness to free himself of suspicion carried him to regrettable lengths:[2] "I rejoice exceedingly, dearest Louis," he writes

[1] Unidentified further. The *Généalogie de la Maison de Sainte-Marthe* thus interprets *Furnæus*. Otherwise one might suppose him a member of the Lyonnese family of Fournier. *Cf.* Copley Christie, *op. cit.*, p. 208, n.

[2] For text, *cf.* p. 581 *et seq.*

"that my Paraphrase has pleased the brothers of your order, learned and Catholic men; not only because to be approved by excellent men should be considered as the greatest praise, but also because, in this so turbulent time, it is no common gift of God to please theologians and those to whom the function of inquisition is intrusted. For there are some who, rejoicing in the title of doctors and theologians, almost burst with rage, when they see others, although notable in doctrine yet not in orders,[1] publish anything in the nature of a theological meditation. Nevertheless, you write that in reading the Paraphrase nothing struck your Order as inadmissible, unless it be that they fear lest what I write of evil princes, corrupt judges, and impious men,[2] enemies of the truth, be taken other-

[1] *Sine nomine.*

[2] The passage in question is in the Paraphrase of the Seventh Psalm, pp. 128 and 129. "Interea, Principes multi, consiliis huiusmodi persuasi ac graviter irritati Sedechile sunt in Hieremias sæuientes, & miserè illos ac tyrannicè in cæcerem conijcientes; sunt Salomones, à uero Dei cultu abducti colentes Deos alienos, & ijs templa construentes. Sunt Darij mittentes in lacum Leonum permultos Danieles. Sunt inquam Herodes, in odium ueritatis, Ioannes quamplurimos ultimo supplicio adficientes," etc.

wise than as I precisely mean; that is, as aimed at those who to-day prosecute and punish the seditious followers of sects and those who think very wrongly of our religion. I so hate all heretics, Atheists, Anabaptists, carnal evangelists, and turbulent and venomous men of the kind, that I could wish them already destroyed, so far removed from me is any wish to reflect against magistrates who most severely punish them.

"What I write of Princes who, listening to evil counsel, rage against the good and pious, I mean of those whose deeds sufficiently show their manners, such as Italy has often known, and not so long ago, England.[1] But I did not think it well to name them, since it is dangerous to write of such princes even true things. As to what I write of evil judges and impious men, you know at whom it is aimed. Those namely are intended who, under pretext of Lutheranism, wreaked upon me, who am innocent, the cruelty of their spite; who, I declare, exclude, by their censures, the innocent from the commerce of

[1] Referring clearly to the death of Sir Thomas More eight years earlier (1535) and to that of Savonarola.

men and even from the Church herself, speaking of my very self, whom they took pains to have shut up alone in a dark place, and, more than that, drove from the most holy Communion of the Eucharist like a Jew or a Turk, although convicted of no crime at all. What! is it a trifling matter to shut out a man from the Church? a trifling matter to attack the truth? since he attacks it who both sets forth what is not true and also does not admit what is true. For the rest, I know well that there have always been, and now are, those who slander whatsoever things are good, who misinterpret whatsoever are doubtful, who exaggerate those which are slight, and who are, in all things, judges so harsh, that they rather bring about this: to destroy instead of healing him who perchance has slipped. But I do not doubt that those who are true theologians, that is, just, good and learned, will clear me from all injustice, especially if I intrust to the judgment of the Church all my works whatever they are. I will promptly review my commentaries on the One hundred and eighteenth Psalm, and, when revised, send them to you, as you ask. Farewell, most learned

Dufour. Foster that favor of your order which you have obtained for me, so that it may grow daily. Grenoble, March the 9th, 1543."

It must be confessed that this letter leaves the reader in the dark as to the true sentiments of Sainte-Marthe. The key to them probably lies in the reference to "him who has slipped," and this communication may, in the light of it, be regarded as a sort of retraction and formal submission. Many a heretic had, like Sainte-Marthe's acquaintance, Boissoné,[1] found the cup of persecution bitter to drink, and Sainte-Marthe himself confessed to such weakness, — in feeling at least. "Our flesh (I confess it, and I confess it from experience)," he writes in his Paraphrase of the Thirty-third Psalm, "is of itself so weak and unstable and, even more, so blind, that it not only refuses to taste the fruit of the Cross, but cannot be persuaded that there is any good in tribulation."[2] The probability is, in fact, that Sainte-Marthe's religious irregularities stopped resolutely short of any desire

[1] His public recantation took place some eleven years before.

[2] *In Psalmum . . . xxxiii Paraphrasis*, pp. 158 and 159.

to leave the Church. The distress expressed at the possibility of excommunication is obviously sincere. Seven years later he put into earnest words his firm desire to remain within the bosom of the Church and to submit to her authority. If he had ever dallied with the thought of schism, — and his going to Geneva indicates it — he had now learned his lesson and profited by it, however inconsistent such submission may appear with his denunciation of those who "know the truth indeed, but dare not openly profess it, having fears for themselves from persecution, prison, exile, loss of goods, slander, death."[1] Yet the Paraphrases composed in prison undoubtedly stress the unwelcome Augustinian point of view. Ecclesiastical caution, indeed, avoided condemning, rather acknowledged while minimizing, doctrines clearly traceable, even though through the *Institutio*, to the great Church-Father; but such views could not, at this juncture, have rendered Sainte-Marthe *persona grata* to the authorities whom he wished to placate.[2] That fatalism which seems to

[1] *In Psalmum Septimum . . . Paraphrasis*, p. 26.

[2] Nor, if the Domin cans had examined the *Poesie*

some the natural fruit of the doctrine of predestination is set forth with frank emphasis. "He chose me for Himself before the creation of this world,"[1] falls in naturally with such a passage as the following: "But whatever tyrants can wreak upon the body itself, they do so much by the Divine Will, without whose Providence nothing befalls us. Wherefore, as we fail if we attempt to shun the nature and hour of our death predestined and ordained by Him; so, whatever the conspiracy of the impious against us, they can assuredly not slay us before our appointed day."[2] No less clear is the exposition of the doctrine of grace: "How shall our nature, so corrupt within us, have such movements of the spirit, and this perfect obedience without the Grace of the Holy Spirit? Truly, certain rash Pelagians have dared to claim for themselves this power and liberty, and to teach that we can beget inward motions by the sole force of nature and without the Holy Spirit; of which, since it

Francoise, would they have relished repeated gibes at the *Frere Dœmonique*, a pun, apparently, on the name of their order.

[1] *In Psalmum xxxiii . . . Paraphrasis*, p. 146.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 197.

obscures the benefits of our Saviour Jesus Christ, the faithful and pious were never persuaded. God is assuredly known to us by natural instinct; but this knowledge the horrible corruption of our nature has so far obscured, that our spirit does not consent with it. . . . He who uses only his natural powers, that is, lives by natural sense and reason, cannot, without the help of the Holy Ghost, believe in and fear God."[1] The insistence also upon the Bible as the source of doctrine is present in the Paraphrases, as it was in the poems of three years earlier. The author decries "our Pharisees who, that they may more freely believe according to their lust, forbid Thy Gospel to be read, as doctrine contrary to their works."[2] And there is a suspicious ring in the exclamation to Galbert: "Moreover, to be reviled for the Gospel is to be crowned; to be covered with shame for the Gospel is to be honored; to be driven from one's country and forced to emigrate for the Gospel is to be inscribed a citizen of heaven: to be destroyed for

[1] *In Psalmum Septimum . . . Paraphrasis*, pp. 118–119.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 67. *Cf.* also Ded.; *ibid.*, p. 9. *Cf. infra*, p. 569 *et seq.*

the Gospel is to be saved: finally, to be wretched for the Gospel is to be most happy. Christ expressed this when he said 'Blessed are they who suffer persecution for righteousness' sake etc.'"[1] Sainte-Marthe also decries the abuses in the church, mention of which is enough to bring upon a man suspicion of Lutheranism. "Let a man condemn abuses," he writes to Galbert, "many of which, (alas) and too many, we must confess have been brought into the church to utmost hurt of the Christian republic, by the limitless avarice of certain men, and he must needs be a Lutheran. On the other hand," he continues, "let him declare that the authority of the Roman Pontiff and of other ministers of the Church should be sustained, and meanwhile approve certain praiseworthy ceremonies, whereby human desires are checked as by barriers, and he will be ignominiously dubbed a Papist."[2]

On the whole, this last quotation probably indicates Sainte-Marthe's religious position, or at least the position with which he wished to be credited. It was that of many broad-minded

[1] Ded. *In Psalmum Septimum . . . Paraphrasis*, p. 6.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 6 and 7.

men of unquestioned orthodoxy, who ardently desired reform within the church, and at the same time, while acknowledging the authority of the Pope, were too Gallican to relish the epithet *Papist* at a moment when the *Concordat* had focused attention afresh on the independent claims of their own church.[1] It may be that Sainte-Marthe's brief experiences at Geneva had somewhat modified his views. His references to "carnal Evangelicals" suggests a certain disillusion with regard to reform or at least reformers. "There are to-day," he writes, "many Evangelicals of this sort, who have naught in their mouths but the Gospel, but in whom that living and perfect power of Evangelical Charity perseveres not. What avails it to hold sincerely pious doctrine if it be darkened with evil affections, and if life be dulled with earthly lusts? But

[1] For an account of the long struggle between the French church and the Holy See, *cf.* Jervis, *Hist. of the church of France*, Vol. I. "'La Pragmatique,' disait le Chancelier du Prat en 1517, nous a isolés entre tous les peuples Catholiques & nous a fait considérer comme enclins à l'hérésie, peut-être même comme attaints déjà par ses doctrines.'" Le Marquis du Prat. *Vie d'Antoine du Prat*, Paris, 1857, p. 152, *cit.* Henri Lutteroth, *La Reformation en France*, p. 2.

they are so bewitched with love of glory, desire for money, eagerness for pleasure, lust of revenge, fear of shame, hurt and death, that not only are they unable to leaven the foolish multitude, but they themselves and Evangelical piety fall into the uttermost contempt among men, since they do not practise what they teach. Should you, in a Christian manner, exhort these not to change Evangelical liberty (the true liberty of the Spirit) into liberty of the flesh, but to unite piety of doctrine to piety of manners, and should you perchance more sharply rebuke them when they do not assent; they will at once brand you with Atheism."[1] Somewhat disillusioned, then, as to the effect of the new religious movement upon its followers; no doubt also disappointed at its now marked dogmatism and divergence from the philosophic spiritualism which had earlier mingled with it;[2] cowed into submission by a bitter experience, and yet eagerly seeking to justify his views to authority while sincerely desirous to remain within the fold; —

[1] Ded. *In Psalmum Septimum . . . Paraphrasis*, pp. 7 and 8, *cf. infra*, p. 568 *et seq.*

[2] *Cf.* Lefranc, *Le Platonisme et la Littérature en France (1500–1550)*, Rev. d'Hist. litt. 1896, pp. 9, 12–13.

it is thus that we may picture Sainte-Marthe towards the end of his imprisonment.

Its end was near at hand, — for the *Parlement* set free its prisoner "una hora and verbo uno,"[1] not, it would seem, by acquittal, but by pronouncing judgment and inflicting a lighter punishment than the death-penalty for which the young scholar's enemies had hoped. Sainte-Marthe was banished, his property was confiscated; but the machinations of his personal enemy seem to have redounded to his own discredit. "And what did he finally accomplish," writes Sainte-Marthe, "except that he kept me long in prison? But prison I had in common with not a few princes and noble men, in truth with Christ himself. He despoiled me of all my possessions; yet what he took away, he took not from me but from Fortune (to whom pertained what was mine). The Lord had given and the Lord suffered them to be taken away. He can give back, yea, better and more numerous goods. Perchance he has fouled me with shame. This he attempted indeed but could not accomplish. For as, if you wet or immerse maidenhair fern, it

[1] Ded. *In Psalmum Septimum . . . Paraphrasis*, p. 13.

still remains as if dry: so slander hangs not on a good man, nor shame, however one may try to dishonor him. But he saw to it that I should be dispossessed of all. What of that? Perchance he thought me like the ant or bee, who emigrate if cast out of hive or hole. But a brave and good man lives tranquilly in any place as a ship with firm anchor can ride at peace in any port."[1]

It may well have been the influence of the Dominicans which brought the Senate to its decision; the championship of Galbert and the favor of Avanson were no doubt also efficient; but the suddenness of the poet's release suggests the exertion of some still more powerful factor. May not Marguerite of Navarre, now at least, if not on a former occasion, have interfered in behalf of her protegé, as she had so often done for others? Years afterwards Sainte-Marthe included in his Paraphrase of the Ninetieth Psalm a passage which gives color to this supposition: "If we should have enemies bent on our destruction and were unable to escape their power, and some prince promised us favor and freedom either by letter or messenger and meanwhile

[1] Ded. *In Psalmum Septimum . . . Paraphrasis*, p. 11.

took us under his protection, what could we hear which would more refresh our spirits?"[1]

Freed then, but in dire poverty, the banished man betook himself to Lyons, his earlier place of refuge. He was already there by the 15th of June, his dedication to Galbert of his Paraphrase of the Seventh Psalm being of that date and place. On the first of July he dedicated to Avanson another Paraphrase — that on the Thirty-third Psalm to whose inspiration he owed so much. He had composed it in Grenoble or in Lyons immediately upon obtaining his freedom. During the year he published, at Lyons, both paraphrases with their dedications, in a volume[2] which included also his letter to Dufour and an interesting epigram to the address of his enemies.

[1] *In Psalmum xc pia . . . Meditatio*, fol. 17 r°.

[2] *In Psalmum Septimum et Psalmum xxxiii Paraphrasis per Carolum Samarthanum.* I am indebted for having seen this volume to the kindness of M. Arthur Labbé of Chatellerault, who lent me his almost unique copy (red morocco binding by Du Senil, arms of de Caumartin Saint-Ange). I afterwards discovered a second volume at the Bibliothèque de Sainte Geneviève (No. B 1515). For text of the dedications it contains *cf.* pp. 566–581. This volume is the only source of information with regard to the poet's experience at Grenoble.

This epigram effectually identifies his persecutors and makes clear their share in both Sainte-Marthe's imprisonments. In view of its acrid humour, it is amusing to find the family genealogist referring to it as "un gentil épigramme." [1]

Ad F. Faysanum apud Gratianopolim Senatorem et Theod. Muletum in eod. Senatu Advocatum regium Samarthanus.

"Me Volucris rostro, me Bestia calce petivit,
Nec nocuit Volucris, Bestia nec nocuit.
Immerito vinctum Menses vexasse triginta,
Inque meam frustrà pervigilasse necem,
Ac nudum duro eduxisse e carcere, pulsum
Ingrato, Getico, barbaricoque Solo;
Hæc fecisse (inquàm) fas contrà, juraque contrà,
Ni insonti graviter sit nocuisse Reo:
Ut potuere igitur solum nocuere, nec ultra,
Ut voluere etenim non nocuere, sat est." [2]

[1] *Généalogie de la Maison de Sainte-Marthe*, fol. 22 r°.

[2] *In Psalmum Septimum et Psalmum xxxiii Paraphrasis*, p. 144.

CHAPTER V

SERVICE WITH THE DUCHESS OF BEAUMONT AND THE QUEEN OF NAVARRE

SAINTE-MARTHE'S second stay at Lyons was short. He had been there not more than a year when, in 1544, he entered the service of Françoise, dowager Duchess of Vendôme and Longueville,[1] who had but lately been created also Duchess of Beaumont in her own right.[2] In his funeral oration for his patroness, composed in 1550,[3] Sainte-Marthe speaks of himself as having been "son domestique serviteur six ans continuels." It is

[1] Daughter of Réné d'Alençon, and sister of Charles, duc d'Alençon, first husband of Marguerite of Navarre, she had, at this time, been for six years widow of Charles de Bourbon, duc de Vendôme, her second husband. Her first husband had been François d'Orléans, duc de Longueville.

[2] *I.e.* in September, 1543, when the vicomté of Beaumont and the baronies of La Flèche, Château Gontier, Ste. Suzanne, etc., were united in her favor into a *duché pairie* under the name of Beaumont.

[3] *Oraison Funèbre . . . de Françoise d'Alençon*, etc., fol. 13 v°.

clear, in fact, that it was to the Duchess that he owed the beginning of happier fortunes, and not, as generally supposed, to Marguerite of Navarre. On her death, less than a year after that of Marguerite, Sainte-Marthe thus bewails the loss of both patronesses: "L'une avoit été le premier fondement de mon avantage sur lequel l'autre avoit commencé un bastiment qui eut poeu contenter le desir de mon esprit à l'entretien & continuation de mes etudes. L'une decedee, ce commencement a esté ruiné & ne m'estoit plus demeuré que le fondement; mais si tost que l'autre a delaissé le monde, mon fondement s'est crevé en sorte qu'il ne reste plus en moy de ce que j'estois les deus vivantes, sinon une triste image de ma ruine." [1] The foundation-stone of Sainte-Marthe's worldly advancement was the post of *procureur général* of the new duchy which he obtained within a year of his connection with the Duchess.[2] To this was

[1] *Or. Fun. . . . de Françoise d'Alençon*, fols. 7 v° and 8 r°.

[2] Odolant Desnos, *Mém. hist. sur la ville d'Alençon*, Vol. II, p. 546, specifically states that the letters patent conferring this office were dated May the 14th, 1545. M. de Longuemare, *op. cit.*, p. 46, gives this date as the 18th

added also membership in the Duchess's Council.[1] Françoise had probably seen Sainte-Marthe as a youth before he left home for the University, for she had been at Fontevrault for the reception as novice of one of her daughters in 1529,[2] and was otherwise closely connected with the convent. This connection, no doubt, would be enough to interest her in Sainte-Marthe. Possibly, too, her attention was attracted to their gifted penitent by the Dominicans. Her confessor, Frère Simon Bernard, was of their Order, and may well have recalled Sainte-Marthe to her memory.[3]

Such refuge as service with the Duchess offered was a godsend to Saint-Marthe, for, even though he had the approval of the Dominicans,

of May, but quotes no source. *Cf.* the letters patent of Antoine issued in 1550, *infra*, p. 590 *et seq.*

[1] The account of Sainte-Marthe's connection with the Duchess, given by the *Généalogie de la Maison de Sainte-Marthe*, fol. 26 v°, is chronologically misleading.

[2] Magdaleine de Bourbon. *Cart. Font. Ebrald.*, fol. 357 v°. Sainte-Marthe, *Or. Fun.* . . ., fol. 39 r°, gives the date as the 25th of October. She was "professed" in 1534, October the 14th.

[3] ". . . frere Simon bernard, de l'ordre des Jacobins, son pere confesseur & Ecclesiaste ordinaire, vertueuse & docte personne." *Or. Fun.* . . ., fol. 34 r°.

the harsh Edict of Paris promulgated within a month or two of his arrival at Lyons[1] must have made him tremble, still more so that of September of the same year, clearly defining orthodox doctrine as the Sorbonne saw it and directing proceedings against all who preached against any of its twenty-six articles.[2] The household of the Duchess provided more than refuge, — congenial surroundings; for the piety of its Head — whose orthodoxy was beyond question — delighted in psalms and hymns and readings of Scripture, and would be naturally sympathetic with Sainte-Marthe's "evangelical" turn of thought.

Françoise's protégé has left a lively description of the appearance and qualities of his patroness, "la bonne entre les bonnes and la humaine entre les humaines." Unable to use her eyes, and of such weight of body that she could take no part in domestic occupations, but was kept from rest and obliged by her physicians to "faire exercise par deambulations," she yet had unmistakable

[1] *I.e.* the 30th of July, 1543. *Actes de François I*, No. 1543.

[2] *Ibid.*, Nos. 13353 and 13354. *Cf.* also H. Lutteroth, *op. cit.*, pp. 37 and 38.

nobility of bearing. "Vergile, parlant de Venus," writes Sainte-Marthe, "dit qu'au marcher elle se monstra estre vraye Deesse ; mais, s'il eust cogneu Francoise, il eust poeu dire que sa parole, son maintien, son port, son marcher, ses gestes, encor qu'elle eust esté deguisee & couverte d'autre habit, portoient assés de tesmoignage qu'elle estoit Princesse."[1] A woman of masculine understanding, "qui sçait si noblement tenir son reng entre les Princesses que ses vertus souveraines avoient donné à nostre France grande occasion de se complaindre de Nature de quoy ne l'avoit faicte homme,"[2] she was a tender and generous mother to her thirteen children. Sainte-Marthe, an eye-witness,[3] gives a moving account of her behavior during the prolonged and painful illness of her son Antoine: "La Mere qui, en l'absence de son enfant, de pitie & compassion de ses douleurs arrousoit sa chambre de larmes, quand retournoit vers luy, ne voulant luy augmenter sa peine par sa tristesse & desolation, reprimoit ses douleurs, et le consoloit

[1] *Or. Fun.* . . ., fols. 13 r° and 14 v°.

[2] *Or. Fun.* . . . *de* . . . *Marguerite de Navarre*, p. 44.

[3] "Nous estions lors a Chasteauregnauld." *Or. Fun.* . . . *de Françoise d'Alençon*, fol. 34 r°.

avec un visage si constant qu'elle entretenoit son enfant en espoir de guarison, encore que la maladie fust de touts deplorée. Et l'enfant qui, en l'absence de sa mere, par les doloreuses plainctes de son mal, faisoit fondre les assistants en pleurs, adverty de la venue de la debonnaire Dame, se contenoit en si magnanime courage qu'il sembloit ne sentir aucune douleur."[1] As the boy was recovering, his mother received news of the sudden death of her second son, François, the victor of Cerisolles.[2] The stricken woman tried to hide her anguish from the sick child: "Qui les eust veu l'un devant l'autre, quand elle le fut reveoir, on n'eust poeu juger qu'elle heust aucune fascherie & tristesse; ne luy qu'il souffrist aucun mal."[3]

In her household the Duchess maintained strict discipline. She concerned herself minutely with the dress, bearing, and amusements of her ladies in waiting: "Elle faisoit aussi venir en sa chambre toutes ses Demoiselles, & (apres) les

[1] *Or. Fun. . . . de Françoise d'Alençon*, fol. 33 v°.

[2] *I.e.* on the 16th February, 1546. He was killed, by the fall from a window of a chest of linen, while engaged in a game with the Dauphin and some of his suite.

[3] *Or. Fun. . . . de Françoise d'Alençon*, fol. 35 r°.

avoir regardees l'une apres l'autre, elle reprenoit celle qui luy sembloit faire contenance & maintien rustique; elle blasmoit celle qui estoit moins que proprement & modestement paree; elle prenoit l'ouvrage de chascune, s'il y avoit faulte l'amendoit, si le peu d'avancement portoit tesmoinage de sa negligence & paresse la tenceoit. . . . Que si aucun leur vouloit parler d'amour, falloit que ce fust de l'amour permis . . . car oncques Ullyxe n'estouppa si bien ses aureilles contre le deceptif chant des Sirennes, qu'elles estoient sourdes a tels propos comme filles prudentes & rendantes bon tesmoinage de leur nourriture. . . . Ains permettoit qu'elles allassent se pourmener & esbastre ou aux jardins, ou en quelque honorable maison, ou qu'elles balassent, ou qu'elles jouassent de lucs, de guitternes, d'espinettes & autres instruments de musique."[1] Deeply religious, she allowed them no other reading than the scriptures or "quelque historiographe qui ne donnoit aucune mauvaise & impudique doctrine;" no other songs than the Psalms or the Odes of the Queen

[1] *Or. Fun. . . . de Françoise d'Alençon*, fol. 14 r° and v°.

of Navarre.[1] She imitated her sister-in-law, in fact, in causing hymns to be set to new and popular airs, "tourna les lascives chansons de l'impudique Venus en hymnes et cantiques spirituelles."[2] These compositions were usually the work of Charles de Billon,[3] her *Maître des requêtes*, but sometimes Sainte-Marthe composed them. "Quelque fois me faisoit tant d'honneur," he writes, "que de m'en commander autant; & quand j'avoie escript quelque Elegie qui parloit des benefices de Jesus, de la bonté & misericorde de Dieu & d'autre telle matiere chrestienne, me la faisoit distinctement lire devant elle en la presence de ses Damoiselles, pour les exciter tousjours a la crainte & amour de Dieu & leur faire gouster le fruict de pieté."[4] Françoise's supervision of the conduct of the gentlemen of the household was no less vigorous. She considered one reprimand enough, not only for "mutins joueurs, blasphemateurs, oultrageus," but also for those who "entreprirent sur les

[1] *Or. Fun. . . . de Françoise d'Alençon*, fol. 15 r°.

[2] *Ibid.*, fol. 15 v°.

[3] "Son maistre des requestes, homme d'angelic esprit & de grande erudition." *Ibid.*, fol. 15 r°.

[4] *Ibid.*, fol. 15 v°.

autres es estats & offices qu'elle leur avoit distingués." After that they were haled to prison to suffer "bonne justice."[1]

For all her virtues, faults were not lacking; a generous, open-handed woman, — prompt in anger and in forgiveness, unresentful, easy of access, affable, pious, charitable, — the Duchess had the defects of her qualities.[2] Presumption angered her like vice, and she was heard to declare "tout hault et devant touts" that no servant should ever govern her.[3] She was always deeply in debt, and there were some to whisper that she had never in her life paid her servants.[4] Sainte-Marthe, indeed, gives a curious picture of the hand-to-mouth existence led by this royal princess. When she received money, those who were fortunate enough to discover it and to ask

[1] *Or. Fun. . . . de Françoise d'Alençon*, fols. 15 v° and 16 r°.

[2] *Cf. ibid.*, fols. 30 r°, 26 v°, 12 v°, 34 v°.

[3] For example: "Et encor que l'advis & opinion de son conseil luy semblast bonne, elle la reprouvoit, non pour ne la vouloir croire (car, apres, elle la mettoit a execution) mais pour oster toute occasion aux gents de son conseil, de se iacter de la gouverner." *Ibid.*, fols. 16 v° and 17 r°.

[4] *Ibid.*, fols. 29 r° and 31 r°.

for a payment were never refused,[1] and she compounded with her household for their wages by appointing them to offices as fast as they fell vacant. Still, whatever her faults, Françoise d'Alençon was able to gain the love of those who served her, and was sincerely mourned at her death. "Ô franc cœur de Francoise," exclaims Sainte-Marthe, "ô bonte incroyable, o rare exemplaire de misericordieuse Princesse, que tu as aujourd'hui en chrestiente petit nombre de Princes, a toy en cela semblables."[2]

After a period which must have been spent between Vendôme, La Flèche and Beaumont, Sainte-Marthe was enrolled in the household also of Marguerite of Navarre, as one of her counsellors and *maîtres des requêtes*, besides holding office as *Lieutenant Criminel* of Alençon. Sainte-Marthe's own description of himself as "both their servant and of their Council"[3] indicates that he held office in the household of the

[1] *Or. Fun. . . . de Françoise d'Alençon*, fol. 31 r° and v°.

[2] *Ibid.*, fol. 23 r°.

[3] "J'ay donc ample matiere de plorer la mort de mes maistresses qui les ayant perdues ay tout perdu: & seray tesmoing croyable a la predication de leurs vertus, qui ay esté, & leur domestique & de leur conseil." *Ibid.*, fol. 8 r°.

Duchess and of the Queen at the same time, and is another proof of the close affection which to the end united the two women, in spite of the strain it must have been put to by the Queen's reluctance for her daughter's marriage with Antoine,[1] and, earlier, by the lawsuit begun by Charles d'Alençon's sisters, after his death, to recover the usufruct of the duchy granted to his widow.[2] It is difficult to establish the date of Sainte-Marthe's connection with the Queen's household, its renewal, rather, since we have supposed him among her followers in 1539. He is not mentioned until 1548 in the book of expenses which Frotté[3] kept for the queen from 1540 to

[1] *Cf.* Ruble, *Le Mariage de Jeanne d'Albret*, pp. 250–268; A. Lefranc, *Les Dernières Poésies de Marguerite de Navarre*, Preface, pp. xx–xxii; F. Frank, *Les Marguerites de la Marguerite*, Preface, pp. xvij & xviij.

[2] In 1529. The lawsuit was decided in the following year. *Cf.* Anselm, *Histoire généalogique & chronologique de la Maison Royale de France* (Paris, 1726-1733), Vol. I, p. 277, and Génin, *Nouvelles Lettres*, p. 123.

[3] The queen's secretary. Sainte-Marthe thus refers to him, ". . . son Secrétaire Jhean Frotté, — sien le dy je pource qu'il estoit de son privé Conseil comme son premier & trèsséprové Secrétaire, homme de grande expérience & de bon esprit, prudent et hayant peu de semblables au debvoir & à la diligence de son office, etc." *Or. Fun. . . . de M. de N.*, p. 63.

1548;[1] and the date on which his name appears, November, 1548, as "conseiller & maître de requêtes"[2] falls precisely during the month of the festivities that marked Marguerite's visit to Vendôme, Jeanne d'Albret's new home.[3] On that occasion, "Charles de Sainte-Marthe, conseiller & maître des requêtes, est chargé de taxer les dépenses de la séance de l'echiquier tenue à Alençon au mois de septembre dernier." Sainte-Marthe's probable presence at Vendôme in Françoise's household makes it plausible, then, to suppose this the time chosen by the Queen to attach Sainte-Marthe once more to her person. The evidence of the funeral oration on this point is almost wholly negative. Sainte-Marthe was apparently not with Marguerite at the time of François I's death on March the 31st, 1547, — "elle mesmes le m'a depuis ainsi dit," is the phrase he uses of Marguerite's dream of her brother on that day; but, no doubt, after

[1] Ably edited, or rather analyzed, by the Comte de la Ferrière-Percy. *Marguerite d'Angoulême, son livre de dépenses (1540–1549)*.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 131.

[3] *Cf.* Ruble, *Antoine de Bourbon & Jeanne d'Albret*, Vol. I, pp. 3–5; La Ferrière-Percy, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

this appointment to her household, he remained in close attendance upon the Queen of Navarre. "Nous estions lors au monastère de Thusson," he writes,[1] describing an incident in the Queen's life, as if he were regularly on her train. His other appointment, as *Lieutenant Criminel* of the town of Alençon,[2] may conceivably have antedated his closer attendance upon Marguerite; but by itself his office at Alençon would bring

[1] The mention of Tusson, where Marguerite went into retreat immediately upon the death of the king, does not, necessarily, indicate an earlier connection between queen and poet; for Tusson may reasonably be supposed to have remained a favorite resort of the Queen's.

[2] "Comme ce fut par sa faveur qu'il obtint l'office de Lieutenant Criminel de la ville d'Alençon," etc. Scévole de Sainte-Marthe (Colletet), *loc. cit.* Scévole makes no mention of the office of "Conseiller à l'echiquier et au conseil d'Alençon" which Odolant Desnos, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 546, attributes to Sainte-Marthe, adding, "apres l'extinction de l'echiquier, il fut Lieutenand criminel d'Alençon." Odolant Desnos is not entirely reliable, as is proved by his statement that Sainte-Marthe was still *Lieutenant Criminel* at Alençon in 1562, when, as a fact, he had been dead seven years. The family genealogy makes the following statement (fol. 25 v°): "Marguerite . . . l'honnora de la charge de Lieutenant criminel d'Alençon, ou selon le temoinage de l'histoire de Perche, de l'office de Lieutenant general en cet exchiquier." On the whole we may conclude that Scévole would not have failed to mention any of his uncle's honors.

him little contact with the Queen of Navarre, who spent her last years at Pau, Mont de Marsan, and Nérac, with occasional absences, which included, so far as we know, no journey to Alençon after 1544. It is probable, then, that Sainte-Marthe's more intimate connection with her household began hardly earlier than the year before her death. For Marguerite, those last days of life were full of sorrow, disenchantment, and disappointment, and the gratitude of a kindred soul like Sainte-Marthe's must have offered elements of solace.

Sainte-Marthe felt his debt, indeed, to be immense towards her who, in his own words, "de sa grace m'a tant fait de bien et d'honneur que je lui devois & ce qui est à moy & moi-mesmes, tel que je sois."[1] His love and admiration for that "femme incomparable qui n'eut onc rien en ce monde sinon le corps commun avec les aultres mortels,"[2] "les vertus de laquelle quand on vouldroit dignement exprimer, la fertilité d'Homère en deviendra stérile, le torrent de Démosthène en déseicheroit, la lumière et splendeur de l'éloquence Tulliane en seroit

[1] *Or. Fun. . . . de M. de N.*, p. 28. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 26.

estainte,"[1] informs his whole oration with eloquence. It supplies to his feeling terms, which — if less telling than Rabelais "Esprit abstraict ravy & ecstatic," or Marot's "corps feminin, cœur d'homme & teste d'Ange" — show us the queen "in her habit as she lived." Her candor, "ingenuité de franc cœur," her force and magnanimity, her humility and goodness conjoined with tempered gravity, her courtesy, sweetness, and merciful heart, her excellent wit and "profound and abstruse erudition," and that "mâle majesté" which made an offender wish himself a hundred feet underground, — all these Sainte-Marthe lovingly recalls.[2] He notes, too, the queen's practical application to life of her knowledge of philosophy; her patronage of letters; her disinterested distribution of office in a day when patronage was a fertile source of income; her constancy in grief, and generosity when injured; her reasonable and merciful discipline of her household; her exact discharge of obligation to her inferiors; her liberality to all,

[1] *Or. Fun. . . . de M. de N.*, p. 28.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 99, 64, 60, 80, 31, 84, 49–52, 56–59, 65–67, 83, 87, 88 *et passim.*

even to the evil and vicious: "Elle estoit la plus humaine & la plus libérale femme du monde," he exclaims; "elle escouteoit parler tous estats & toutes nations d'hommes; elle ne refuseoit sa maison à personne; elle ne vouloit, quand on la prieoit de quelque chose, que celuy qui demandeoit s'en allast refusé."[1] "Tous les malades de griefves maladies," he writes elsewhere, his enthusiasm kindled by his own experience, "tous ceuls qui souffroient nécessité & indigence, tous ceuls qui avoient perdu leurs biens & abandonné leur patrie, tous ceuls qui fuioient la persécution de la mort, bref, tous ceuls qui estoient en quelque adversité, fust ce du corps ou de l'esprit, se retiroient à la Royne de Navarre comme à leur ancre sacré & extrême refuge de salut en ce monde. Tu les eusses veus, à ce port, les uns lever la teste hors de mendicité, les aultres, comme après le naufrage, embrasser la tranquillité tant desirée, les autres se couvrir de sa faveur, comme d'un second boucler d'Ajax, contre ceuls qui les persécutoient."[2]

[1] *Or. Fun. . . . de M. de N.*, p. 101.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 88–89.

Sainte-Marthe hardly admits, as the queen's only fault, a certain credulity so marked "que facilement on la tourneoit çà & là," for which, even if true, her sex would be an excuse; and he makes such apology as befitted his audience for her patronage of those "qui sentoient bien peu chrestiennement de nostre foy & religion." [1] It was probably the unfortunate Des Periers whose disgrace [2] he parades as proof of his idol's orthodoxy: "Mais ceuls qui n'estoient de Dieu, je dy ceuls desquels les faicts répugnoient à la parolle, ceuls de qui la vie estoit scandaleuse, ceuls de qui la doctrine estoit doctrine inspirée des Démons, une doctrine impie, sacrilègue & qui deust estre dégetée, après qu'elle les avoit aigrement tencés, après que leur avoit monstré leur faulte, après que trèshumainement les avoit voulu remettre au chemin de vérité, s'ils ne vouloient se recongnoistre & amender, selon le précepte de S. Paul qui commande d'éviter l'hérétique après la première ou seconde admo-

[1] *Or. Fun. . . . de M. de N.*, pp. 96–101.

[2] *Rē* this incident *cf.* La Ferrière-Percy, *op. cit.*, p. 41 *et seq.*; L. Lacour, *Œuvres Françoises de Bonaventure Des Periers*, Vol. I, p. 1 *et seq.*

nition, incontinent les déchasseoit de sa Maison, de sa famille & de sa compagnie." [1]

It was natural that Sainte-Marthe, himself erudite and a schoolmaster, should have much to say of the education of the Queen, a matter of deep concern to her father and to her mother, that "mirouer trèslucide de prudence et matronale gravité." Under discipline of Persian severity, Marguerite was trained in manners "pudiques & humains, sévères toutefois & vraiement Royaulx," and her intellectual education was conducted by really learned men.[2]

The oration, which at moments approaches a biography, concerns itself not merely with Marguerite's education, but with her ancestry and the main events of her career. Her two marriages, the negotiations of the Emperor for her hand, the birth of her children, her mission to Spain, her political activities at home, the death of her infant son, "ravy devant son aige par l'envie des fatales Déesses":[3] all are duly and eloquently set forth. It is, however, when he records the way of life of his beloved

[1] *Or. Fun. . . . de M. de N.*, pp. 101 and 102.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 38–44. [3] *Ibid.*, pp. 44–45.

mistress, as he himself observed it, that Sainte-Marthe is at his best. He will not have his reader suppose that Marguerite was like the ladies of the court, who pass the day in idleness and vain talk, or concern themselves but with feminine occupations and exercises. Not so, truly, is it, for, as she surpassed all those of her own sex in liveliness of mind, and possessed in a feminine body a heroic and manly heart, she wished to pass the time in arts worthy the occupation of a man, in honest and praiseworthy pursuits.[1] And so we see her, in his pages, accessible to great and small; giving audience with the sweetness and humility of a simple lady rather than like a queen; dictating, or even writing with her own hand, letters of recommendation, full of sweetness, humanity, and affection, so warm that a reader might suppose them written for her own advantage; counseling, consoling, cheering those who needed it; waiting after her audience for possible petitioners that none might be disappointed. We see her, now bestowing alms secretly that she might not seem to be bidding for the favor of her

[1] *Or. Fun. . . . de M. de N.*, p. 76.

people, now begging her officers, with clasped hands and tears in her eyes, to make the poor their special care; or, when reprimand was needed, mingling honey with aloes, sweetly addressing and familiarly admonishing the transgressor.[1]

Sainte-Marthe has portrayed the Queen also, occupied in more intellectual pursuits: alone in her room, when her husband was absent, a book in her hand in lieu of a distaff, pen or tablets replacing spindle or needle. She actually excelled in tapestry and other needlework, however; and, when she applied herself to these, some one read from a "historiographe" or poet or other noteworthy and profitable author, or else she herself dictated some meditation. In his own person her eulogist saw her dictate at the same time to two of her secretaries, letters to one, to the other French verses which she composed promptly but with admirable erudition and gravity.[2] At meals, though she considered "propos joyeux & recréatifs" as necessary as salt, she avoided that coarseness which

[1] *Or. Fun. . . . de M. de N.*, pp. 61–64.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 76.

delighted the men of her time, and talked rather of medicine, hygiene, and physics with her physicians Schyron (Scuronis), Cornier, and Esterpin (Sterpin); of history and the precepts of philosophy with other learned people of her household; of faith and the Christian religion with Gerard, Bishop of Oléron. One table conversation, which took place at Tusson, Sainte-Marthe has reported with great particularity. The subject was Christ's saying, "Except ye become as little children ye shall in no wise enter the kingdom of heaven," and after Le Roux, the queen's chaplain, had quoted St. Augustine; Regin, St. Jerome; and Sainte-Marthe himself Chrysostom, Theophylactus, and Hilary; the learned queen — "O Seigneur Dieu de quelles parolles & gravité de sentences!" — explained her own opinions, to the disgust of a Spanish gentleman present, who afterwards, in the house of a cardinal, complained that he had heard Marguerite discuss things frivolous and of no moment with certain "bonnets ronds," there being but two or three "gentlemen" in her train, and that she had not spoken a single word to himself. "O complaint worthy of such a personage," comments Sainte-

Marthe, apostrophizing the Spaniard as "beast" and "man without the least judgment." [1]

Sainte-Marthe gives a touching picture of Marguerite as a wife, a happier portrayal of her married life than is usually offered. According to him, Henry of Navarre loved the queen his wife with conjugal affection. Nor was he one of those who object to women's concern with study or conversation about letters; on the contrary, he always revered the wit and erudition of Marguerite, and even caused his daughter to be trained in good disciplines and knowledge by Nicholas Bourbon. Henry himself, indeed, was no enemy of the Muses nor of learning, but, like his wife, often conversed of literature and greatly loved men of letters.[2] The praise is not excessive from a man who, like Sainte-Marthe, excelled in eulogy as he did in vituperation; but at least the picture does not accord with the usual one of the king of Navarre, not only unfaithful to his wife but even ill-treating her,[3]

[1] *Or. Fun. . . . de M. de N.*, pp. 68–71. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 73.

[3] *Cf.* Ruble, *Mariage de Jeanne d'Albret*, pp. 90–91 and 267; F. Frank, *op. cit.*, p. xvij. *Per contra*, Olhagaray gives a lively picture of Henri's distress at the death of his wife. *Hist. de Foix, Béarn & Navarre*, pp. 505–507.

and on the worst terms possible with her from jealousy of their daughter.[1] As for Marguerite, her wifely behavior and tact were perfect. Before her husband, she entered into no discussions on philosophy or Christianity, unless he broached the subject. Like Sara, she recognized him as her lord, honored and obeyed him as her head. Thus she gained and kept his grace by all humility and obedience. If he commanded anything, it was done as soon as asked; she never contradicted him, and loved him so that she cherished his favor at the expense of mischief and hurt to herself.

She carried her devotion so far, indeed, that she followed Henry to Béarn at a time when her physicians assured her that to go to that climate was to risk her life.[2] And she paid the forfeit with her life, if we are to believe Sainte-Marthe. Her death took place on the 21st of December, 1549, after a sudden illness while she was at Odos in Bigorre.[3] Some days before her illness,

[1] *Cf.* letter of Henri II to Montmorency, *cit.* A. Lefranc, *op. cit.*, p. xxiii.

[2] *Or. Fun. . . . de M. de N.*, pp. 73–74.

[3] Sainte-Marthe should be better informed on this point than Brantôme, who says she died at the castle

she, to whom her brother had appeared in sleep the day he died, felt herself warned, by a vision, of approaching death. Abandoning thereupon all her activities, she left the care of her affairs wholly to her husband; ceased to compose and began to weary of everything. Only she set in order what might need it after her death, and wrote at much length to those concerned. These things accomplished, she fell into her last illness, and, having been much in torment for twenty days, died in the fifty-ninth year of her age.[1] Those who heard her converse of the immortality of the soul and of celestial blessedness, before she departed from this world, says Sainte-Marthe, very well knew that she feared death little, for she awaited him with smiling countenance, as knowing well that he was near.[2] During the last three days speech left her and she broke her silence only to utter three times the name of Jesus, with which cry she died.

The Queen's funeral was celebrated with much pomp in the church at Lascar.[3] Sainte-Marthe

of Andaus in Béarn (*i.e.* Andaux, Basses Pyrenées), *Œuvres*, Vol. viii, p. 123.

[1] *Or. Fun. . . . de M. de N.*, p. 108. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 113.

[3] *Cf.* Génin, *op. cit., Pièces justificatives*, p. 457.

did not compose for that occasion the Oration from which we have been quoting. It was prepared for a memorial service to be held at Alençon,[1] and it is doubtful whether it was pronounced at all, although it may have been given in the course of the following year.[2] Sainte-Marthe wrote it in Latin fifteen days only after the queen's death,[3] but the memorial service was so delayed that, when nearly three months had passed without its taking place,[4]

[1] "Ut me Alenconii pronuntiaretur, si Reginæ nostræ funebris pompa celebrata fuisset." *Lectori candido. In obitum . . . Margaritæ . . . Navarrorum Reginæ Oratio Funebris*, p. 4; *cf.* p. 587.

[2] The *Généalogie de la Maison de Sainte-Marthe*, never wholly reliable, states (fol. 26 r°) that it *was* pronounced: "L'année suivante, à la priere des citoiens de la ville d'Alençon, qui preparoient de celebrer funerailles pour leur Dame, Charles fut invité de celebrer la memoire et vertus de la Royne par une Oraison funéraire latine, qu'il prononça elegamment au rapport d'un tres fameux historien Jacques Auguste, president de Thou au Livre 6me." De Thou's mere "laudavit" is here embellished, but it at least suggests that the Oration was delivered. *Cf. infra*, p. 218, note 2. Longuemare, *op. cit.*, p. 46, quotes de Thou, but evidently from the *Généalogie* without verification.

[3] "Note, lecteur que ceste Oraison ut faicte xv jours après la mort de la Royne de Navarre, pour la prononcer à Alençon." Marginal note, *Or. Fun. . . . de M. de N.*, p. 122.

[4] The *candido lectori* is dated Alençonii, Idibus Martiis,

he yielded to the pressure of his friends and published, not only the Latin version, but the vigorous idiomatic and picturesque translation which has, observes Montaiglon justly, "un tout autre accent qui ne s'est pas éteint & qui vibre encore aujourd'hui."[1] The two versions, published simultaneously in April,[2] were, according to Scévole de Sainte-Marthe, greeted with "un grand applaudissement de toute la France." There were, however, in spite of Scévole, exceptions to "all France," on Sainte-Marthe's own confession. "C'est pitié d'ouir faire recit," he writes in the preface to his Funeral Oration for the Duchess of Beaumont,[3] "de combien de

1550, *In obitum . . . Margaritæ . . . Navarrorum Reginæ Oratio Funebris*, p. 4.

[1] Ed. *Heptameron*, Vol. I, p. 3.

[2] The *privilège* of the Latin version is dated xviii Cal. Maij; that of the French version is the same, "le xiiij Apvril," and its *achievé d'imprimer* is of April the 20th.

[3] *Or. Fun. . . . de Fr. d'A.*, fol 2 v°. *Cf.* also another passage, "Je ne fay doubte que, venue ceste mienne oraison funebre en lumiere & cognoissance des hommes, elle ne soit lardee, dessiree, blamee, reprinse, & du tout (non pourtant de touts) condamnee; comme a esté celle du trespas de la Royne de Navarre, mais je n'ay voulu ressembler au paresseus & pusillanime laboureur, etc. . . . Car pour la crainte des Babillardes femmes qui n'ont

parts ma pauvre oraison a esté assaillie, blessee, degetee, voire & de plusieurs qui sont plus insipides que la Bete," among whom were not only "babillardes femmes," but "un tas d'envieus qui n'ont pœu souffrir l'histoire de la vie de la defuncte Royne de Navarre estre proposee pour exemplaire de vertueuse vie.[1]

Sainte-Marthe is amazingly vindictive on the subject of these detractors. He rejoices at the prospect of making them burst with spite as they read of virtues in which they are wholly lacking, and as their conscience tells them that no one will trouble himself after their death to write *their* funeral oration, "si l'orateur ne veult transgresser le commandement de la loi des douze tables & faire des vices vertus."[2]

In the course of his Oration for the Queen, Sainte-Marthe takes pains to mention with praise various officials of her government and household. With most of these he was evidently

trouvé goust en la premiere oraison je ne laisseray de mettre ceste cy en lumiere." The marginal note reads: "Icy sont notees les Babillardes envieuses de la louenge de la Royne de Navarre." *Ibid.*, fol. 8 r° and v°.

[1] *Or. Fun. . . . de Fr. d'A.*, fol. 19 r°.

[2] *Ibid.*, fol. 8 v°.

on terms of personal acquaintance, and the fact accentuates the difference, so strikingly obvious in the whole tone of the Funeral Oration, between the official and eulogist of the Queen of Navarre, a man of consequence among his fellows, and the persecuted schoolmaster-poet of the Paraphrases. He names Groslot,[1] the learned chancellor of Alençon; his two predecessors in office, Brinon and the great Olivier, the latter already chancellor of France; and Habbot, former President of the Council at Alençon, now King's Counselor at Paris, who possessed "une trèsferme sévérité de justice conjoincte avec une incredible humanité." He praises the courtesy and graciousness conjoined with senatorial gravity of Antoine du Lyon, Jean Prévost, and François Boilleau, judges in the Alençennois *Parlement* and perspicacious patrons of letters; the prudence and experience of René de Silly, governor of the province, the Nestor of Alençon.[2] Nor does he omit the names of his own companions and colleagues whom, for fear of flattery, he hesitates

[1] *Cf.* Lefranc and Boulanger, *Comptes de Louise de Savoie & de Marguerite d'Angoulême*, pp. 71, 82, 89.

[2] *Or. Fun. . . . de M. de N.*, pp. 70, 81, 82, 89. *Cf.* Lefranc and Boulanger, *op. cit.*, pp. 24, 31, 39, 41, 42, 56.

to praise in terms, — the Moynets,[1] father and son, Thomas le Coutelier,[2] secretary and *maître des requêtes*, Bonin,[3] Dagues, Thorel,[4] Pelletier, Rouillé, Hervé,[5] Farcy, Truchon, members of the Exchequer and Council. But he is especially eloquent on the subject of the wit, doctrine, and integrity of Matthieu du Pac,[6] president of the *Parlement* of Béarn.

Matthieu du Pac was one of those who contributed to the collections of poems, including a number of his own, which Sainte-Marthe published at the end of the two versions of his

[1] *Or. Fun. . . . de M. de N.*, p. 83. *Cf.* Lefranc and Boulanger, *op. cit.*, pp. 29, 32, 34, 45, 46, 51, 59, 62, 82, 89.

[2] *Or. Fun. . . . de M. de N.*, p. 83. He it was to whom Marguerite dictated a letter asking news of the king fifteen days after his death, just before she learned of it almost by accident. *Ibid.*, p. 104.

[3] Perhaps identical with François Bonjan, already secretary in 1512. *Cf.* Lefranc and Boulanger, *op. cit.*, pp. 25–28, 33–46.

[4] Abraham Thorel, *Conseiller* since 1539. *Cf. ibid.*, pp. 71 and 89.

[5] Probably the Jacques Hervé who in 1539 was still *écolier pensionnaire*. *Cf. ibid.*, pp. 79 and 96.

[6] One of the correspondents of Robert Breton. Professor at Toulouse, he had been arrested in 1531 on suspicion of heresy.

Funeral Oration.[1] Nothing could be more striking than the variety of people, friends of Sainte-Marthe as well as protégés of the Queen of Navarre, whose poems were united in these collections. The names of Pierre du Val, bishop of Seez, recent translator of the Crito,[2] of Heroet "le subtil," [3] platonist and poet, afterwards also a bishop,[4] of the distinguished Frotté,[5] and the still more distinguished Nicolas Denisot, appear side by side with that of Pierre des Mireurs, student or new-fledged doctor of medicine, the gay companion of Ronsard,[6] and

[1] For Sainte-Marthe's contributions *cf.* pp. 547–557. One, a French quatrain, neatly translates a Latin distich of his own.

[2] Published in 1547.

[3] Sainte-Marthe's epithet for him in the *Tempe de France.*

[4] It will be remembered that his *Parfaicte Amye* was published in 1542. He became bishop of Digne in 1552.

[5] Presumably the unamiable hero of the 28th *Nouvelle* of the *Heptameron.*

[6] *Rē* Des Mireurs, *cf.* P. de Nolhac, *Documents nouveaux sur la Pléiade,* Rev. d'Hist. litt., 1899, pp. 356 *et seq.;* and P. Laumonier, *Ronsard, Poète lyrique, Ibid.,* p. 71. Ronsard mentions him among the joyous companions of the "folastrissime voyage d'Hercueil" (1549), *Œuvres,* Vol. VI, p. 362. He contributed some verses to the *Nœniæ* of S. Macrin (1550), a Latin poem *Ad Lectorem*

that of Hubert Sussanée, the dissipated schoolmaster, Sainte-Marthe's quondam enemy, who was withal a learned man and the friend of most of the learned of his time. The other contributors were Jacques Goupil, a physician versed in Greek;[1] Sainte-Marthe's two brothers Reñé and Louis; Antoine Armande of Marseilles;[2] Pierre Martel of Alençon, one of Marguerite's numerous secretaries; another anonymous secretary; and two persons known only by their initials I. M. and A. D.,[2] the latter a "Damoyselle Parisienne." Sainte-Marthe's own contributions conclude with a sonnet, — his second effort of the kind, — addressed to Demoiselle Renée Laudier of Alençon, who was probably already his wife.

What had become of Mlle. Beringue does not appear. All that is certain is that her lover was married by 1550.[3] In that year, he mentions the

exhortatio to Sainte-Marthe's *In Psalmum xc . . . Meditatio* and an epitaph to his *Oraison Funèbre . . . de Françoise d'Alençon.* He used the device *Ignoti nulla cupido.*

[1] Ιακώβος Γωπύλος (*sic*). He contributed two Greek poems.

[2] Otherwise unidentified.

[3] "Set nonnullis iniquum uisum est, me et uxori copulatum . . . de rebus sacris, . . . aliquid mandare."

fact as a sort of disability in a letter of dedication to Gabriel Puy-Herbault. Of the five women with whom Sainte-Marthe was intimately connected in the course of his life, his wife is the only one of whom we know absolutely nothing but her name, and that we owe to Odolant Desnos,[1] — in general none too exact an authority.

Ca. Sanctomar thanus, F. Gab. Putherbeo, etc. *In Ps. xc. Meditatio* fol. [g. vij] r° of the unpaginated leaves which follow the 51 paginated. *Cf.* p. 201 *et seq.*

[1] Who, however, asserts it positively: "M. l'abbé Goujet dit qu'on ignore s'il a été marie & M. Dreux du Radier assure qu'il est mort garçon." (The latter statement is difficult to verify.) "Il epousa certainement, à Alençon, Renée Laudier d'une tres bonne famille de cette ville" (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 546). The *Genealogie de la Maison de Sainte-Marthe,* fol. 29 v°, contributes the following — "Charles termina enfin la cours de sa vie en l'age de quarrante trois ans sans enfans en la ville d'Alençon ou il s'etait marié." Sainte-Marthe's phrase "ma sœur et compaigne" in his sonnet strongly suggests that he was already married in 1549.

CHAPTER VI

LAST YEARS

SAINTE-MARTHE'S situation had become very different from that of the mere wandering scholar. A man with definite ties, an official of importance in two duchies, he had also established his reputation as poet by constant production of verse, much to the taste of his contemporaries. In 1549 François Habert, who, though unknown to him, shared with him a common admiration of Marot,[1] as also a view of love quite un-marotic, thus addressed him:

A Monsieur de saincte Marthe Poete Françoys

" Par un dixain escrit au lieu d'Amboyse,[2]
Que m'envoyas ne me cognoissant point

[1] *Cf.* his epistle to Marot, *cit.* Tilley, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, 88.

"Mais tel qu'il est, ton humble serf se tient
Et des Françoys le plus grand te maintient
Comme Virgil entre Latins, Homere
Entre les Grecz a louenge premiere."

[2] The poem was probably written between November the 13th, 1548, when the Queen of Navarre was at Vendôme, and January the 16th, when she was at Castel

D'un stile beau le goust & la framboyse
J'apperceu lors, qui encores me poingt.
Et ne me doy esbahir sur ce poinct
De tes beaulx vers d'elegante escriture,
Car des long temps de ta fabricature
Tant de polis ouvrages sont yssants,
Qu'on seroit bien d'ignorante nature
De ne louer tes labeurs florissants."

— *Temple de Chastété*, fol. Hij.

Few of the "polis ouvrages" have survived. Among them were three *dixains* on the subject of love, published in 1543, in a collection of poems to which a translation of Nicolas Léonique Thomé's *Quaestiones amatoriae* gave its name;[1]

Jaloux (*cf.* La Ferrière-Percy, *op. cit.*, p. 131–133). In the interval she was at Tours, whence she might easily have gone to Amboise. Sainte-Marthe was probably in her train at the time.

[1] *Quaestiones aliquot naturales, cum amatoriis problematibus viginti. Opuscula*, Paris, 1530. *Cf.* Brunet and La Croix du Maine, art. Nicolas Léonique. For full title of the translation *Les questions problematiques du pourquoy d'amours*, *cf.* p. 614. In these volumes five dixains were attributed to Sainte-Marthe of which two are actually Salel's and are to be found in his *Œuvres* (1539). One of these two is a translation [illegible] Petrarch, Sonnet *xciii*, *Sonetti e Canzoni*. The [illegible] (*Œuvres*, pp. 49 and 54, has al[illegible] proto-type. The fact of [illegible] dixains throws a doubt [illegible] their attributi[illegible] *Cf.* pp. 355 and 3[illegible]

and early in 1550[1] Sainte-Marthe contributed his first venture in sonnet form, *De la Paix faicte par le Roi avec les Anglois*, as a companion to the *Ode de la Paix* which Ronsard published in that year.[2] The volume contained also poems by Goupil, Antoine de Baif, and Pierre des Mireurs. "Leur présence seule à cette place," says M. Laumonier, speaking of the contributions of des Mireurs and Sainte-Marthe, "nous prouve les liens qui l'unissaient (*i.e.* Ronsard) à leurs auteurs."[3]

Sainte-Marthe's acquaintance with Ronsard was evidently new. It may be that he owed it to Nicolas Denisot, who was their common friend. In March or April, 1551,[4] Denisot, the Comte d'Alsinois, as he whimsically styled himself,

[1] *I.e.* shortly after March the 24th, when the peace was signed.

[2] *Ode de la Paix par Pierre de Ronsard, Vendomois, au roi. Cf.* p. 616. Sainte-Marthe's sonnet was reprinted by P. Laumonier, *Chronologie et variantes des poesies de Pierre de Ronsart*, Rev. d'Hist. litt. 1904, p. 436. M. Laumonier remarks that this sonnet has never, to his knowledge, been reprinted.

[3] *Ronsard, Poète Lyrique*, p. 71.

[4] Denisot's dedication is dated the 25th of March, 1551. The *privilège* is undated and there is no *achevé d'imprimer*. Laumonier, *Ronsard*, p. 73.

republished, under the title of *Le Tombeau de Marguerite de Valois, royne de Navarre*,[1] the *Hecatodistichon*,—lament of the three daughters of the Protector Somerset for the death of Marguerite,[2] a work published late in the previous May.[3] Denisot added translations of the English sisters' Latin distichs into Greek, Italian, and French, by himself, Daurat, I. P. D. M., — Jean Pierre de Mesmes, Du Bellay, Baïf, and A. D. L., — Antoinette de Loynes; and in this volume Sainte-Marthe, republishing two Latin poems, once more collaborates with Ronsard, who is represented by four odes. This was not, however, Sainte-Marthe's first connection with the new group of poets. He had already collaborated with Baïf and Daurat in the *Hecatodistichon* itself, contributing to the small collection of verses printed with it five

[1] *Cf.* p. 621.

[2] *Cf.* p. 618 *et seq.* Denisot had been their tutor.

[3] The dedication of the edition is dated *Calend. Maiis 1550;* but Sainte-Marthe writes in the poem *cit. infra*,

> "Jam sextus prope mensis est tibi ex quo
> Sæva Margaridem abstulere fata."

We must then, to make the *prope* even remotely applicable, suppose the end of May.

Latin poems, among them one of those reprinted in the *Tombeau*.[1] In one of these five poems, a reproach to the poets of France for their neglect of Marguerite's memory,[2] to which they responded by their contribution to the *Tombeau*,[3] Sainte-Marthe expresses his admiration of Ronsard, the new singer, "recens scriptor" in lines which M. Laumonier justly calls dithyrambic. But a mediocre poet himself, Sainte-Marthe at once recognized the greatness of the master, and hastened to do him honor. He addresses him as —

> "Ronsardus meus ille, quem Minerva
> Sacrauit sibi: cui suada Pitho
> Dextro Mercurio irrigauit ora,
> Qui (nolit, velit inuidus) poetas
> Inter, conspicuus locum tenebit:"[4]

The volume of the *Hecatodistichon* contains also verses addressed to Sainte-Marthe by his

[1] The other had appeared with the Latin funeral oration.

[2] *Ad Gallos. Cur tam pauci poetae Galli Reginam Nauarræ laudant. Op. cit.*, p. 135. *Cf.* p. 561.

[3] *Cf.* Laumonier, *Ronsard*, pp. 72 and 73; and Henri Chamard, *Joachim du Bellay*, pp. 242–243.

[4] *Hecatodistichon*, p. 136. *Cf.* p. 559. *Cit.* Laumonier, *Ronsard*, p. 72.

brother Louis, *Procureur du Roi* at Loudun, and by his brother René,[1] both of whom had already, as we have seen, contributed to the poems published with the Funeral Oration. This collaboration, no doubt, indicates that the poet was now on good terms with his family. We have indeed another curious evidence of this. In the course of 1550, Sainte-Marthe went to Paris. Perhaps — since he was not only an admirer of Ronsard, but a representative of the Marotic school, and had not omitted Saint-Gelais[2] from his invocation to the poets of France — he hoped for Court favor. Whatever his object, he was there by the middle of April[3] and there published or republished[4] his Latin Mèdi-

[1] *In Margaridem Valesiam Ren. Sanc.; Ludovici Sanctomarthani apud Iuliodunum Procuratoris Regij ad Carolum fratrem.*

[2] *Cf.* p. 558. It is curious to find him named almost in a breath with Ronsard at the moment of his effort to prejudice the Court against the new school. *Cf.* Laumonier, *Ronsard*, p. 72.

[3] He dated thence, *le xvii d'Apuril*, the dedication of his funeral oration on the Queen of Navarre to her daughter and niece. *Cf.* p. 557.

[4] This is suggested by his remark, "Id sum expertus in æditionem meditationis meæ," etc., in the very letter included in the volume itself. *Cf.* Rev. des Ét. Rab., 1906, p. 347.

tation on the Ninetieth Psalm,[1] dedicated to a close friend, Gaston Olivier,[2] Lord of Mançi, cousin of the Chancellor,[3] a friend to whom he was indebted for many favors. With this letter he included another, dated June the 19th, addressed to Gabriel Putherbeus, *i.e.* Puy-Herbault,[4] author of a notorious and venomous attack upon Rabelais, who had responded to it by numbering "enragez Putherbes" among the "monstres difformes et contrefaitz" engendered by Antiphysie.[5] As Professor Lefranc has remarked, a comparison of dates leaves no doubt that it is precisely the book containing this

[1] The 91st in our version.

[2] *Cf.*, p. 585, the conclusion of his dedicatory letter.

[3] First cousin of François Olivier. He took his title from his mother, Perrette Lopin, Lady of Mançi and Morganis. *Cf.* Moreri, *Dict. Hist.; Nouvelle Biographie Générale.*

[4] *Car. Sanctomarthanus, F. Gab. Putherbeo Sodali Fontebraldensi, S.* End of *In Psalmum xc . . . Meditatio*, fol. [g. vij] r°. Rev. des Ét. Rab., 1906, pp. 347 *et seq.* *Rē* Puy-Herbault (1490–1566), *cf.* Honorat Nicquet, *Hist. de l'Ordre de Fontevraud*, p. 343 *et seq.*; Carré de Busserolle, *Dict. d'Indre et Loire*, Vol. V, p. 238 *et seq.*; A. Lefranc, *Rabelais, Les Sainte-Marthe et l' "enraigé" Putherbe*, Rev. des Ét. Rab.; and A. Heulhard, *Rabelais, Ses Voyages en Italie, son exil a Metz*, p. 265 *et seq.*

[5] *Œuvres*, vol. II, p. 385.

attack upon which Sainte-Marthe congratulates the monk of Fontevrault.[1] Puy-Herbault's *Theotimus*[2] was published in 1549, and in 1550 we find Sainte-Marthe thus addressing its author: "You may easily perceive by the letter I wrote you, what I think of your book, most humane and learned Putherbeus; nor did I express more than is impressed and fixed in my mind. I praised your eloquence, rarer among men of your order than a white crow; I praised the argument of the work most suitable to our times; I praised its uncommon learning united to exact judgment; I praised finally the Christian piety and zeal for our religion by which, under God's grace, you were, it seems to me, moved to write such a work. I know not how fortunate the issue of your work may prove to you; but this I will declare to you without question of flattery: I have seen no one up to this time who did not agree in their judgment of your writings. I may not doubt in

[1] *Loc. cit.*, pp. 343–345.

[2] *Theotimus, sive de tollendis et expugnendis malis libris, iis præcipuè, quos vix incolumi fide ac pietate plerique legere queant, libri tres.* Paris, Jean Roigny, 1549. The passage *rẽ* Rabelais has been translated by A. Lefranc, *loc. cit.*, pp. 339–341.

the least," he continues, "that your labors seem useless and ridiculous to those Atheists and Epicureans some of whom you name, while others you leave unnamed in such a manner as to be easily recognized, painted as they are in their characteristic colors; but you touch them on the raw, so that it is not wonderful if they abhor your doctrine so contrary to their tastes. Would that all theologians and men of your profession might, like you, so adorn that Sparta they have attained that, the Diagoras reduced to despair, it were no longer permissible to utter with freedom, not to say passion, either verbally or in writing, impiety larded with poisonous flavor. I had written to you of my determination to stretch every nerve of my intelligence against such, nor am I yet weaned from this intention; although my efforts, however honest and praiseworthy, are condemned by those whose favor and thanks should support them." [1]

Language of this sort from Sainte-Marthe to the author of a work whose whole spirit was en-

[1] The letter has been reprinted by A. Lefranc, *loc. cit.*, pp. 347, 348, and is therefore not reproduced in the Appendix of this book.

tirely out of harmony with his own,—the *Theotimus* is in the main a virulent attack upon all that the Renaissance promised[1]—can only be explained by personal interest; and, however much one may deplore in Sainte-Marthe a certain lack of loyalty to his literary as to his religious beliefs, it may safely be concluded that he was acknowledging the prowess of a champion who had avenged his family from the immortal ridicule thrown upon it by Rabelais.[2] Professor Lefranc observes that Rabelais is the only "Epicurean" author of the time mentioned in the *Theotimus*, and that Sainte-Marthe's "Atheists and Epicureans" obviously refers to him. Not only here, in fact, but in the text of the Paraphrase itself[3] and in several of the scattered poems of 1550, Sainte-Marthe animadverts upon "Epicureans" and the doctrines of Epicurus.[4] One violent attack

[1] *Cf.* A. Lefranc, *op. cit.*, pp. 341, 342. It is interesting to note the opinion of an admirer of that 'religieux . . . enfroqué jusqu'aux moelles," as Heulhard calls him. Honorat Nicquet refers to him as "Lumière de l'Eglise & Colonne de la Foy," and "le Ciceron de France pour la pureté de son style en la langue Latine." *Op. cit.*, p. 343 *et seq.*

[2] *Cf.* A. Lefranc, *op. cit.*, pp. 344 and 345.

[3] Fols. 16 v°, 18 v°, 19 v°, 44 v°. [4] *Cf.* pp. 548, 549, 560.

upon the Atheist and the Epicurean, especially, seems to be at least in part aimed at Rabelais; "Porro, quum audit vir pius, blasphemam Athei vocem: Non est Deus; quum audit eum Evangelio illudentem, divinas promissiones ridentem, in Christum invehentem, Angelos, Divos, Reges, Ecclesiæ ministros, Magistratus, ac cœlum denique et terram impudenter perstringentem, idque modo aperte facientem, modo clauculum, tincta salibus et jocis, velut melle, impietate sua, ut incauti lectores, tanquam Sardoam biberint aut ederint, ridentes insaniant, ac tandem misere moriantur; quumque audit epicurea, impia et pecunia illius verba: Ede, bibe, vive, post mortem nulla voluptas: nec audit solum verumetiam et scripta legit, quasi vero non satis impium sit, epicureismum in animo profiteri, nisi etiam scriptis ad profligatissimum vivendi morem Christiani invitentur, scriptis dico, adeo effrenate impudicis, ut quantumlibet prostituta scorta pudore suffundant, quis credat, patientibus cum auribus tantas blasphemias audire ac legere posse?"[1] If, as seems plausible, the phrases "impietas" "salibus et jocis tincta," or "scripta

[1] *In Ps. xc . . . . Medit.*, fol. 19 v°.

adeo effrenata impudicia," indicate that the description was intended for Rabelais, this is but another evidence that Sainte-Marthe made himself on this occasion the mouthpiece of his kin no less in attacking their enemy than in complimenting their ally. We may then suppose that, whatever bitter causes of complaint Sainte-Marthe had had in earlier years, he now no longer cherished any grievance against his family.

The Meditation and the letters which accompany it shed light upon Sainte-Marthe's position at this period, and upon his opinions, or those, at least, which he chose to convey as his. He had obviously been accepted by the authorities, if not as a sound thinker, at least as one not too dangerous. There was no further question of persecution. That bitter experience had become a mere "quibusdam Monachis, in materia religionis negocium facessitum";[1] but to many minds he was not yet *persona grata*. What had a married man and a mere jurist to do with theo-

[1] *Ca. Sanctomarthanus F. Gab. Putherbeo* etc. *In Ps. xc. . . . Medit.*, fol. [g.vij] r°. *Cit.* Rev. des Ét. Rab., 1906, p. 347.

logical Meditations, or even with conversations on sacred subjects? Well, how is he then, asks Sainte-Marthe, to give a reason for the faith that is in him as S. Peter commands? And, since the law designates those as *sacerdotes* who are devoted to the study of Jurisprudence, why should they defile the name of Theologian? He wishes — he makes the declaration firmly — to remain in the bosom of our Mother the Church,[1] and to submit to Her authority and judgment all his writings; but he beseeches the faithful to receive the truth and reject impiety from whatever source they come.[2] Sainte-Marthe, so he tells Olivier,[3] felt keenly the decay of faith, the dissensions in the Church and the growth of the sectarian spirit, which had once so nearly torn him from Her; and his sympathy with the doubtful and hesitating, as also with those, so far

[1] *Ibid. Loc. cit.* p. 348. "Adjutorium Altissimi est Ecclesia," he declares in the Meditation itself, fol. 14 r°.

[2] Ut quae catholica et vera erunt, etiam si olitor ea proferat, sequantur; quae impia erunt etiam si ab Angelo nuntientur, fugiant. Letter to Puy-Herbault, *loc. cit.* p. 348.

[3] *Carolus Sanctomarthanus Gastono Oliuario Mancii Domino S. D. In Psalmum xc . . . Meditatio,* fols. 2 r°–4 r°.

not involved and entangled in any labyrinth of opinion, led him to wish to provide for them a physician to sustain the unstable, lift up the fallen, call back wanderers into the way and confirm those not yet fallen away. Who should this physician be but the Holy Spirit, and where more surely to be found than in the Scriptures, above all in the Psalms? These were to him what Pliny was to Cicero. A man's pleasure in them betokened the possession of grace, as a man's pleasure in Pliny betokened for the Roman his possession of learning.[1]

As for the Meditation itself, the taint of unorthodox opinion, which an exacting critic might find in it, was offset by the author's protestations of loyalty. "Nothing is so bitter and hard to bear," he writes, "as when he who hastens to defend the faith against heretics is accused of going over to them from the Christian faith."[2] Undue stress upon the doctrine of Grace; animadversions upon human traditions and reference to the Scriptures as the source of

[1] *In Psalmum xc . . . Meditatio*, fol. 2 r° and v°. *Cf.* p. 585.

[2] *Ibid.*, fol. 20 r°.

[3] For example, *rē* St. Peter, "Quod . . . peccavit Carnis fuit, Naturæ fuit, humanitatis fuit . . . quod autem

religion;[1] reflection, somewhat suspicious, though couched in general terms, upon the persecutions of the world;[2] — these were not enough to damn

Petrus, agnita culpa, in lachrymis prorupit, non Petro id quidem, sed ei dandum est, qui Petrum oculis pietatis intuitus, ejus animum ad pœnitentiam excitavit. Hæc itaque tua sunt opera, Domine, qui quos vis induras, quos vis emollis, quos vis eligis, quos non vis reprobas: emollis autem & elegis eos, qui te ex penitissimo cordis adfectu quærunt et sese ad electionem præparant; induras autem & reprobas quotquot se a te subducunt et subtrahunt," etc. *In Psalmum xc . . . Meditatio*, fol. 34 r° and v°.

[1] For example: "Est itaque Dei armatura, non Pharisaicæ et Deo contraria traditiones, non nostra merita Fidei expertia, set verbum Dei." *Ibid.*, fol. 23 v°. Sainte-Marthe takes care to qualify his disapproval of tradition: "Quum vero, pro divinis præceptis rudi plæbeculæ traditiones hominum religiose servandæ obtruduntur (de illis loquor quæ verbo Dei repugnent; quandoquidem quæ cum eo conveniunt non humanæ amplius set divinæ censendæ sunt) quid agitur aliud, quam ut a fiducia Dei abducamur: non contempto solum set damnato etiam verbo Dei?" *Ibid.* fol. 20 r°.

[2] For example: Quum itaque verbo Dei nitaris, atque jam non possis amplius ex traditionibus hominum eas quae illi adversantur non rijicere ac aspernari, nihil a Mundo atque mundanis omnibus expectare debes, quam adversa omnia. Te igitur Mundus a sinistra parte impetet: atque ut relicto Dei verbo suis placitis adhæreas, carcerem, infamiam, vincula, plagas, exilium, rerum jacturam, ac mortem etiam crudelissimam interminabitur. Quod si sese videat nihil suis minis efficere ac consequi posse, atque sis animo obfirmato, non te prius

the work of a man who now emphatically declared that there was no hope of salvation out of the Church.[1] Sainte-Marthe, in fact, looked for no censure except from those whose habit it was to malign every production, "qui scripta trahunt in calumniam omnia."[2]

Sainte-Marthe, as we learn from his dedicatory letter to Olivier, was still in Paris in early July.[3] He had, however, left it by September when his patroness, the Duchess of Beaumont, died at La Flèche.[4] Evidently Sainte-Marthe was present. He reports with particularity the peace of that departure. About midnight the Duchess sent for all her officers and principal servants, and thus addressed them: "Mes amis, dorenavant n'y aura plus de difference entre vous et moy; j'ay

tollet e medio quam tentaverit blanditiis ad suas partes allicere. Proponet enim honores tibi ac populi applausus, pingues proventus, atque vitam inter præstabiles pacificam. Ac simul te adscribet in numerum filiorum æternæ vitæ. Addet, sese commodi salutisque tuæ adeo studiosum esse, ut te a tua opinione in suam pertrahere, nisi summo tuo bono non velit. *In Psalmum xc . . . Meditatio*, fol. 29 r° and v°.

[1] *Ibid.*, fol. 14 r°.

[2] Letter to Olivier, *ibid.*, fols. 3 v° and 4 r°.

[3] The letter to Olivier is dated thence *quarto Idus Iulij.*

[4] On September the 4th, *æt.* 59.

esté grande, je ne suys plus que la plus petite de vous. Je sens que c'est faict de moy; je vous prie me pardonner & prier Dieu pour moy." The interview over, and the last rites performed, Françoise told her physicians, chief among them Jacques Hibou, from whom her panegyrist doubtless got this information, that they might do what lay in them for the good of her body, but that, as for her soul, that was ready to depart; and turning on her side she gave up the ghost in sweet sleep.[1]

Sainte-Marthe composed a funeral oration for this patroness which is, with all its merits, inferior to that for the Queen of Navarre. An apologist, not this time for opinion but for faults of conduct hard to condone, the panegyrist of a character wholly different from that of the Queen, Sainte-Marthe had, in fact, a less congenial task before him. And the later Oration, although a learned, vigorous, and picturesque performance, lacks altogether that touch of spirituality almost mystic, which informs the Oration for Marguerite. Like the latter, this Oration too was, it is probable, never deliv-

[1] *Or. Fun. de . . . Fr. d'A.*, fols. 42 v°–43 v°.

ered,[1] but was published at Paris in the course of the year.

Sainte-Marthe himself, however, went to Alençon and thence dated the *avis au lecteur* on the 12th of October. He felt that, with the death of his patroness, he had lost all hope of preferment, "veu qu'Avarice ha ce iourd'huy tellement occupé domination au cœur d'aucuns Princes que les lettres ny doivent plus attendre des Mecœnes nes des Augustes."[2] These sentiments did injustice to Antoine de Bourbon, "la fleur de la tresnoble & tresillustre maison de Vendosme, fleur de bonte, de candeur, de liberalite, d'humilite, & de toutes les vertus qui sont necessaires à la decoration d'un vray Prince," according to Sainte-Marthe's not too disinterested tribute.[3] The young prince had reason for attachment to Sainte Marthe, no less on his wife's account than on his mother's; and, despite the weakness and vanity which had made

[1] No mention is made on the title-page of its having been delivered. The *Généalogie de la Maison de Sainte-Marthe*, fol. 27 r°, describes it as "prononcée en la ville d'Alençon, au mois d'octobre 1550, et peu apres publiée en françois par nostre Charles." This testimony should, however, be received with caution.

[2] *Or. fun. de . . . Fr. d'A.*, fol. 8 r°. [3] *Ibid.*, fol. 38 r°.

the Queen of Navarre so averse to her daughter's marriage with him, he seems to have had a genuine liking for the society of men of letters. So much is indicated by the tradition, however ill-founded, which would have him carouse at Prepatour with young Ronsard and old Rabelais.[1] It may have been to his good-will that Sainte-Marthe owed his continuance in office as *Lieutenant Criminel* of Alençon, a post he still held in 1553 when he succeeded to the estates of Chasserat and l'Isle Bremant, and the fief of Noguette: his share of the property left by his father, Gaucher, who died in 1551.[2] It was certainly to Antoine that he owed his reappointment as *Procureur Général* of the duchy of Beaumont, a post carrying with it a revenue of a hundred and forty-nine *livres* a year. The patent of Sainte-Marthe's reappointment to this office is of the January following the Duchess's death, and confers upon him also the title of *Conseiller* to the Duke.[3] The document

[1] *Cf.* L'abbé Simon, *Hist. de Vendôme & ses environs*, Vendôme, 1834, Vol. I, p. 304.

[2] *Cf. Généalogie de la Maison de Sainte-Marthe*, fol. 41 v°; A. Lefranc, *loc. cit.*, pp. 346 and 347.

[3] It is dated January, 1550, *i.e.* 1551. *Cf.* p. 590 *et seq.*

not only speaks of the "bonne et entiere confiance" which Antoine placed in Sainte-Marthe, and, as usual, of his sense, sufficiency, literature, and fidelity, but also of the services which he had rendered to his former mistress.

A copy of one of the *Procureur Général's* early official acts under his new lord has been preserved. In the summer of 1550, Henri II. had appointed two commissioners to sell the waste lands and commons of Anjou and Maine. In November these commissioners, François Boylève and Julien Teste "dict de Bretagne," in pursuance of their commission, proclaimed the sale of various waste lands within the jurisdiction of the duchy of Beaumont. Sainte-Marthe's duty required that he should remonstrate on behalf of the Duke. He prepared a brief, demanding a stay of proceedings until the case could be heard, and putting on record the remonstrance of the Duke and the formal announcement of his appeal to the courts. He attempted to plead the cause at the very moment the commissioners were proceeding to the allotment of the commons; but such was the clamor of the people, and the impatience of the commissioners, that

he was unable to proceed. He therefore delivered the brief to Boylève and Teste as they were coming out from dinner next day, November the 7th, at the inn at Fresnoy, in spite of their objection that it contained more than he had pleaded. They completed their sales on the following day, although as late as the 18th of the month Sainte-Marthe again approached Boylève to object on technical grounds;[1] and within the next five years all the common lands of Maine were inventoried and sold.[2] Yet another official procedure of Sainte-Marthe's, "une procedure qu'il fit sure les Articles de la Vicomté de Domfront," has left its traces in the family biography, but no information about it is available.[3]

[1] For these details, *cf.* pp. 593 and 594.

[2] "*Etat des Landes du Maine appartenant au domaine, 1553–54.*" "*Ventes des Landes du Maine 1554–1555.*" These two documents are noted in Anjubault's catalogue, as in the municipal archives, *liasse* 38.

[3] *Généalogie de la Maison de Sainte-Marthe*, fol. 27 v°. It must be this passage which M. de Longuemare expands into "prenant toujours avec une grande ardeur l'intérêt de son prince, aussi que nous le prouve la façon dont il s'occupa de certaines difficultés survenues dans le vicomté de Domfront, difficultés qui ne furent résolues que grâce au zèle du procureur général," *op. cit.*, p. 47.

However much his official duties may have taken him into the duchy of Beaumont, Sainte-Marthe's last years were probably mostly spent at Alençon, and it was there that he died quite suddenly in 1555, at the early age of forty-three. "Mais peu de temps apres," thus Colletet, embroidering Scévole's account, "il se sentit pressé luy mesme de suivre sa bonne Maitresse. Car, comme il estoit d'une humeur extrémement sanguine, une abondance de sang sortie de ses veines avec violence et impetuosité malgre les vaisseaux qui le contenoient ayant esteint sa chaleur naturelle, il en fut suffoqué tout à coup & en mourut en la fleur de son aage, l'an 1555." [1] He was buried in Alençon.[2] He left no children.[3] His widow, sought in marriage by René Rouxal Sieur de Baville & d'Aubry, left a son who became, as Captain Jullien, a soldier of repute. The legitimacy of the son was contested by the

[1] *Cf.* p. 518.

[2] The *Généalogie de la Maison de Sainte-Marthe*, fol. 29 v°; Dreux du Radier, *op. cit.*; and the *Biographie Universelle*, are authorities for the fact of his death at Alençon. The Généalogie alone states that he was buried there.

[3] So Moreri, *loc. cit.*, and the *Généalogie de la Maison de Sainte-Marthe*, fol. 29 v°.

family of Medavy, and one of the reasons adduced has its interest as showing the leanings of Sainte-Marthe's *entourage*. It was that the parents' marriage took place in the "protestant church." [1] Sainte-Marthe's wife, then, had evidently more definite affiliation with the reformers than her husband.

Whatever his position may have been with regard to these, there is no uncertainty as to Sainte-Marthe's place among the savants of his time. He was, as we have seen, the friend of many of the learned. The family genealogist indeed, represents him as praised, not only by Scève, Dolet, and Faucher, as we know in fact that he was, but by Marot, whom it would be pleasant to think of as expressing his appreciation of his disciples' admiration, as well as by Budé, Faber (?),[1] Vatable, Tussaint, Pierre Paschal, and de Thou, adding that he is mentioned in the History of the University of Paris.[2] Much of this, however, if possible to believe, is diffi-

[1] Odolant Desnos, *loc. cit.*, is, however, the only authority for these facts, and his testimony must be received with caution.

[2] *Op. cit.*, fol. 30 r°.

cult to verify[1] and probably exaggerated. De Thou's mention of Sainte-Marthe is too casual to count as "praise"; Du Boulay's, while fuller, is scarcely important.[2] Sainte-Marthe's reputation appears, then, on the whole, to have been brilliant in certain narrow circles, but little extended. He had no place at Court like Colin, Marot, La-Maisonneuve, Macault, La Borderie,

[1] I have made every effort to do so without avail, except in the case of de Thou and Du Boulay. The genealogist probably spoke loosely. *Rē* Marot, *cf. supra*, p. 108, note 3. In Budé's case the genealogist may have confused Charles with his brother Jacques, but even here the praise was on the other side. *Cf.* p. 12, n. 1. M. de Longuemare, *op. cit.*, p. 48, repeats the whole list, apparently without verification.

[2] "Mortuam funebri oratione laudavit Carolus Sammarthanus." Thus de Thou (p. 209) in the London Edition (1733) of his History which, in this locus, gives no variants. He does not even mention Sainte-Marthe in the preceding passage dealing with the *Hecatodistichon*, "quod Joan. Auratus, Joachimus Bellaius, Joan. Antonius Baifius, Nic Denisot, praeclara Galliae nostrae ingenia, . . . expresserunt." The passage stands thus also in the Orleans ed. of 1620 (p. 177). In editions of 1604 and 1609 it does not occur at all.

Du Boulay's account runs as follows: "Ex eadem Gente Carolus Sammarthanus, Scevolae Patruus, Iuris consultus, plurimas laudationes habuit & scripsit. Edidit quoque libros tres de Poesi (a) Gallica & floruit ab an. circiter 1540." *Hist. Univ. Paris*, Vol. VI, p. 972.

Salel, Herberay;[1] he is not mentioned by Pasquier[2] among that "infinité de bons esprits que l'exemple de François premier excita à bien faire," nor by Sibilet in his *Art Poétique*, nor yet by Des Masures in his ode to Joachim du Bellay,[3] nor by the humble Paul Angier in his address to his betters, "tres-scientificques poetes, Marot, Sainct Gelais, Heroet, Sabel (*sic*), Borderie, Rabelais, Scève, Chapuy, & aultres poetes,"[4] published only two years after Sainte-Marthe's death, although its author names poets of both the old and new schools. Again, in Fontaine's *Etrennes* to his fellow-poets for the year 1555,[5] Sainte-Marthe is omitted from a company catholic enough to include Saint-Gelais, Scève, Ronsard, du Bellay, Jodelle, Pontus de Thyard, Olivier de Magny, Remy Belleau, Claude Chappuis, Tahureau, and Bonaventure

[1] All mentioned by Claude Chappuis in his *Discours de la Court.*

[2] *Recherches de la France*, Chaps. V and VI.

[3] *A Joachim du Bellay Ang.*, *Œuvres*, pp. 15–21. Saint Gelais, Herberay, Rabelais, Jacques Pelletier, Salel, Marot, Macrin, Carles, Colin, Jean Martin, and, finally, Ronsard are there named.

[4] *Le mespris de la Cour*, (1544) fol. [hv] v°.

[5] *Les Ruisseaux de Fontaine*, pp. 198–203.

du Tronchet. It was indeed the year of Sainte-Marthe's sudden death, but even if that anticipated the publication of Fontaine's volume, the omission of all mention of it appears a little singular. On the other hand, we find his portrait in a collection of engraved portraits of famous men; *Portraitz de plusieurs hommes illustres qui ont flory en France depuis l'an 1500 jusques a present.* This presentment brings out that contemplative austerity which, for all his eloquence, even for all his impulsiveness, must have been Sainte-Marthe's prevailing characteristic. Extremely small, it represents a man of about forty with a pointed beard, of a decidedly severe cast of countenance, the nose long, the forehead high and slightly bald. Among the descriptive marginal notes accompanying the portraits, *Briefs eloges des hommes illustres desquels les pourtraits sont icy representez. Par Gabriel Michel Angevin, adv. en Parlement,*[1]

[1] Gabriel Michel de la Rochemaillet. So Lelong and the *Généalogie de la Maison de Sainte-Marthe* (fol. 3) name Michel. He was probably the father of René Michel de la Rochemaillet. *Cf.* p. 2. The extremely rare folio sheet containing one hundred and forty-six portraits, and Michel's brief biographies was made in 1622. No name

that devoted to Sainte-Marthe thus simply describes him: "Charles de Saincte Marthe, Poitevin, oncle de ce grand Scèvole de Saincte Marthe lumière de nostre siècle, fut Lieutenant Criminel d'Alençon, Poëte Latin et françois beaucoup renommé,[1] qui mourut environ l'aage de 40 ans, 1555."

of artist or engraver appears on the portraits, but the ornamental border is signed *I. le Clerc. excu.* Leclerc dedicates his work to Jacques de la Guesle. The copy in the Bibliotheque Nationale is included (folded) in a volume entitled *Diverses Pièces. Recueil Général des Pièces detachées, & Figures qui regardent La Ligue,* La^{25}b. The sheet, under its title of *Briefs Eloges,* is mentioned by the Père Lelong, not however by Brunet. There is a copy in the Chatsworth library inserted in the *Chronologie générale* or *Théâtre d'Honneur,* a sort of album of portraits and descriptions cut out of other books and pasted to form new pages.

[1] The word is illegible in the Bibliothèque Nationale copy.

PART II

CHAPTER I

La Poesie Francoise

IMITATION OF MAROT AND PETRARCHISM

IT is almost a platitude that the word "forerunner" should be used with caution. Ideas, it has been said, belong to those who develop them, yet ideas are often afloat in the minds of a generation before they find adequate or telling expression, and a mind incapable of causing them to germinate may be the first to give evidence of their influence. "Il n'y a rien de plus fréquent que cette espèce d'inconscience ou d'ingénuité;" a great critic has written, "nous en verrons de nombreux exemples dans l'histoire de la littérature française, même classique; et tous les jours un écrivain effleure en passant une idée, dont ce n'est pas lui, mais un plus heureux ou un plus habile qui verra

sortir les conséquences." [1] Sainte-Marthe offers a case in point. An intelligence assuredly not of the first rank, a poet more than mediocre, he yet, in his *Poesie Francoise* seized upon ideas which the members of the Pléiade were to make famous, and gave them such expression as he could.[2] So far as theories are concerned, it is not difficult to prove Sainte-Marthe in more than one particular a true forerunner of that group which set what seemed so new a standard for the French language and literature. Du Bellay and Ronsard were concerned to enrich and illustrate their mother tongue; nine years before them, Sainte-Marthe showed the same concern. The poets of the Pléiade owed much to that Platonism which left profound traces in their work even though they forsook and denied it;[3] Sainte-Marthe in 1540 showed the influence

[1] F. Brunetière, *Hist. de la litt. française class.*, Vol. I, p. 185.

[2] "L'avènement de la Pléiade, succédant à l'école de Marot, ne s'explique que si l'on tient compte de l'évolution qui s'était accomplie antérieurement dans la manière de penser et de sentir des classes éclairées." A. Lefranc, *Le Platonisme et la Littérature en France à l'époque de la Renaissance*, Rev. d'Hist., litt. Jan. 1891, p. 2.

[3] W. A. R. Kerr, tracing out the influence of Renais-

of Platonism at its very dawn in France, and ten years afterward produced what has been called a magnificent monument of the Platonism of the French Renaissance.[1] Petrarchism was an essential element of the new poetry; in 1540 Sainte-Marthe was already a Petrarchist. New meters were the pride of the Pléiade; ten years before them, Sainte-Marthe made use of one at least, and dabbled besides in Alexandrines.[2] Du Bellay in the *Deffence* paid a tribute to the industrious translators of the previous reign who had made the French language a "fidele interprete de tous les autres," even though he felt that translation could never be a means "unique et suffisant, pour elever nostre vulgaire à l'egal et parangon des autres plus fameuses langues;"[3]

sance Platonism on each poet of the Pléiade (except Daurat, a negligible quantity), has shown that Ronsard, despite certain concessions to it, found it in the main antipathetic, as did Belleau, Baïf, and Jodelle, while Du Bellay definitely reverted from it, and Pontus du Thyard's interest in it was soon spent. *The Pléiade and Platonism*, Modern Philology, Vol. V, pp. 407–421.

[1] A. Lefranc, *Marguerite de Navarre et le Platonisme de la Renaissance*, Bib. de l'Ecole des Chartes, Vol. LIX, p. 754.

[2] *Cf. infra*, pp. 232 and n. 2.

[3] *Deffence et Illustration de la Langue Francoyse*, pp. 78 and 82.

and Sainte-Marthe anticipated him in the very sentiment.[1] He himself was also among these translators; for, although his work was not published or has not survived, we know from the dedication of his poems to the Duchess of Étampes that he intended to publish parts of Theocritus which he had translated.[2] The humanism, indeed, in which the Pléiade steeped itself, and which, in France, had been growing with the century, had no more ardent disciple than Sainte-Marthe:

> " Homme scavant estre dire ne m'ose,
> Mais mon esprit sur les lettres repose,
> Sa vie est là, là est tout son soulas,
> D'y travailler ne sera jamais las."
>
> — *P. F.*, p. 149.

Such is the modest account he gives of his learning, and learning, in Sainte-Marthe's parlance, could mean nothing but knowledge of the clas-

[1] *Cf. infra*, p. 257.

[2] "Auquel si aggreablement elle (*i.e.* "ceste mienne vaine et jeune fatigue") se veoit quelque foy pervenue, te pourra mettre [hors ?] plus haulte, non toute foy sienne, invention, qui est partie de la traduction de ce Buccoliquain Theocrite, elegante imitation de nostre grand Poete." *P. F.*, p. 5. *Cf.* p. 563.

sics. These instances are hardly needed to prove Sainte-Marthe extraordinarily receptive to the intellectual currents of his time. We have seen with what eagerness he took his share in the "Querelle des femmes," how facile was his inclination to the doctrines of the new Reform; and it is not surprising that he should be as quick to reflect the influences which, even at this date, were making themselves felt in the literature of France. Had his quick response to the impulses of his time found its earliest expression in prose, Sainte-Marthe might have left a greater mark upon his generation, for in prose he showed himself talented even to a supreme degree; but it was unfortunately in verse that he first chose to express himself, and there his gifts were lamentably small, even judged by the performance of his contemporaries.

Although Sainte-Marthe had put forth some fugitive verse in Latin, and probably also in French, before 1540, his volume of that year, *La Poesie Francoise de Charles de Saincte-Marthe*, was his first elaborate publication. An appreciative friend — a certain Chevalier Grenet — thus expressed his admiration of it:

"Le vray Poete a deux conditions
En ses escripts, par lesquels il est rare:
C'est de n'user de maledictions,
Qui monstrent bien que de meurs est Barbare,
Puis de n'avoir invention avare
Sur le desir de la Concupiscence.
Avec ces deux, une grande Science
Rend le Poete entierement facund.
Si nous voulons les escripts fonder en ce
En France n'a Saincte Marthe second."
— *Le Chevalier Grenet, sur la Poesie de S. Marthe. Livre de ses Amys, P. F.*, p. 237.

Grenet, however, — aptly illustrating in this *dixain* the Renaissance confusion of learning and creative power no less than its puristic conception of art, — somewhat hastily credits with freedom from "maledictions" a poet who is at his best when inclining to these; but he is exact in the last two respects. The chastity of Sainte-Marthe's verse is marked, even — for his age — singular; and of his learning, as his reputation, and indeed his later work, witnesses, there is equally little doubt, though his display of it in this first essay is small. Apart from Plato, with whose ideas he seems to have been already familiar, the list of classic authors with whom he here shows acquaintance is no more extended

than to include Theocritus, Ovid, Horace, Homer, Plutarch, the invaluable Ælian[1] and Stobæus,[2] with perhaps Pausanius or Strabo.[3]

The *Poesie Francoise* is divided into three books. The first[4] contains, according to its heading, epigrams: a title which, if it may reasonably be made to include a virelay, *A un usurier, Virlay;* triolets, *A un grand prometteur sans effect;* and an *Epitaphe de feu Monsieur maistre Foulcaud Mosnier procureur de Fontevrault,*[5] is somewhat strained by the insertion of a *Paraphrase du Pseaulme 120* of seven four-lined stanzas; a poem of fourteen four-lined

[1] Translated extracts from Ælian had appeared in Lyons seven years earlier, and gone into a second edition in 1535. *Ex Æ. Historia per P. Gyllium Latine Facti, itemque ex Porphyrio, Heliodoro, Oppiano . . . Libri xvi.* Lyons, 1533. Sainte-Marthe was chiefly indebted to this volume (the only edition of Ælian so far issued) for his description of the Vale of Tempe, *P. F.*, p. 197.

[2] Trincavelli's ed. Venice, 1536. For Sainte-Marthe's later debts to Stobæus *cf. infra*, pp. 369–374. The references in the *P. F.* are an interesting indication of the rapidity with which an Italian edition could become accessible to scholars in France — at least in Lyons.

[3] *Cf. P. F.*, p. 24, 32, 61, 134, 200, *et passim.*

[4] *Le Premier Livre de la Poesie Francoise de Charles de Saincte Marthe, contenant les Epigrammes, P. F.*, pp. 7–80.

[5] *P. F.*, pp. 64, 63, 53.

stanzas entitled *Le Philalethe, c'est adire Amy de verité, blazonne son Amye;* and another of five seven-lined stanzas, which might well have been included among the elegies: *A la Ville d'Arles en Provence, d'ou est natifve Madamoiselle Beringue s'Amie. En forme de complainte.*[1] The second book contains rondeaux and ballades,[2] one a *balade double*[3] and one *Couplets unisonants, avec refrain, en maniere de Balade.*[4] The third book,[5] which forms the bulk of the volume, consists of epistles (one of them a *coq à l'âne*[6]) and elegies, the elegies being sharply divided from the epistles by a separate *avis au lecteur.*[7] The

[1] *P. F.*, pp. 48, 40, 25.

[2] *Le Second Livre de la Poesie Francoise de Charles de Saincte Marthe, contenant Rondeaux, Balades & chant Royaulx, P. F.*, pp. 81–112. The *Au Lecteur*, p. 223, directs "oste chant royaulx."

[3] *Balade double, contenant la promesse de Christ, sa Nativite, Passion, Resurrection, & precieux sacrement de son Corps, icy à nous delaissé pour gaige de Salut, P. F.*, p. 110.

[4] *Scavoir se complaint qu'aujourdhuy soit ainsi vilipendé, P. F.*, p. 106.

[5] *Le Tiers Livre de la Poesie Francoise de Charles de Saincte Marthe, contenant Epistres et Elegies, P. F.*, pp. 113–224.

[6] *A Jean Ferron, Coq à Lasne, P. F.*, p. 141.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 197.

volume concludes with a collection of poems contributed by the author's friends, entitled *Livre de ses Amys*,[1] of which mention has been made.

It will be seen that — with the exception of *chants royaulx* and *chansons* — Sainte-Marthe, like his master Marot, used all those "episseries qui corrumpent le goust de nostre langue et ne servent si non à porter temoingnaige de notre ignorance."[2] However, if he was not the first poet to imitate Marot in a sonnet,[3] nor to

[1] It has a separate title-page, *P. F.*, p. 225. It is comprised within pp. 226-237.

[2] Du Bellay, *Deffence*, pp. 202-203.

[3] Sainte-Marthe published two sonnets in 1549 and 1550. *Cf.* pp. 193 and 197. According to M. Vaganay (*Le sonnet en Italie et en France au XVI^me^ siecle*) the introduction of the sonnet into France proceeded as follows (omitting hypotheses and re-editions):

1539 Marot (1).
1544 (Whether published before 1574 unknown) Saint-Gelais, (1).
1545 Marot (7) (6 trans. Petrarch).
1546 Saint-Gelais (1).
1547 Peletier (14).
Marguerite of Navarre (1).
M. Scève (2).
1548 Vasquin Philieul (196).
Jean Charrier (1).
Ferrand Debez (1).

anticipate Du Bellay's advice and follow his master in the composition of a "plaisante ec-

1548 Sibilet (1).
Saint-Gelais (whether pub. before 1574 unknown) (1).
1549 Du Bellay (50).
Des Autelz (1).
Pontus de Tyard (70).
Thierry de la Mothe (1).

A. Tilley's account of the sonnet in France (*Lit. of the French Ren.*, Vol. I, pp. 152 and 153) offers, in a note, certain modifications of this list:

1539 Marot's sonnet is given as of 1538 (and as written not later than 1532). Another sonnet is credited to Marot with this one.
1540 Saint-Gelais (with Des Essarts's *Amadis*) (1).
1545 Marot's translation of Petrarch is given as of 1544.
1547 Saint-Gelais (1).

The number of Jacques Peletier's sonnets is given as 13.

At least as early as 1548 Jacques Colin mentions as some time past his composition of sonnets. In an interesting passage he enumerates the new Italian and the older forms of verse:

> . . . "Chansons, balades, triolets,
> Mottetz, rondeaux, servantz et virelaiz,
> Sonnetz, strambotz, barzelotes, chapitres,
> Lyriques vers, chantz royaux et epistres,
> Ou consoler mes maux jadis souloye
> Quand serviteur des dames m'appeloye."

— *Epistre a une Dame, Le Livre de plusieurs pieces*, fol. 103 r°.

clogue rustique,"[1] he at least, like Marot, made essay with the still rare Alexandrine,[2] and the reader will divine the older poet's influence in certain other timid experiments in meter.[3]

[1] *Deffence*, pp. 225 and 226. The eclogue in question was of course of a later date, but the phrase applies equally to Marot's earlier ones.

[2] Marot made use of the Alexandrine ten times, *Œuvres*, Vols. II, pp. 224, 230, 231, 234, III, pp. 9, 10, 15, 113, IV, p. 55. He named it five times, but as Pasquier says, every time "comme si c'eust esté chose nouvelle et inaccoustumé d'en user pource qu'à toutes les autres il ne baille point cette touche." *Recherches de la France, Œuvres*, p. 711. This was precisely Sainte-Marthe's procedure, as though proud of the innovation. He uses it six times, *i.e.* (1) *A. P. Tolet, Medicin du grand Hospital de Lyon, Sur L'amitie de luy et de Dolet. Vers Alexandrins. P. F.*, p. 11. (2) *Le Cueur reprend L'œil de regard trop vollaige, et le prie de s'en retirer. Vers Alexandrins. P. F.*, p. 36. (3) *A Maurice Sceve Lyonnois, homme treserudit. Vers Alexandrins. P. F.*, p. 50. (4) *De la transportation d'Eloquence, . . . Vers Alexandrins. P. F.*, p. 61. (5) *A Maurice Chausson, vers Alexandrins. P. F.*, p. 66. (6) *Elegie, de l'Ame parlante au Corps, & monstrante le proffit de la Mort. Vers Alexandrins. P. F.*, p. 214. Three of these (1), (2), and (4), are *dixains* (A B A B B C C D C D); one (3) a *huitain* (A B A B B C B C); and one (5) a *dixain* of five couplets.

[3] For instance, the *Elegie, Du vray bien & nourriture de l'Ame, P. F.*, p. 210. This consists of rhyming ten-syllabled triplets followed by a four-syllabled line which gives the rhyme for the following triplet (AAAB, BBBC, CCCD, etc.). This is, as has been observed, the principle of the *terza rima*. Faguet, *Seizième Siècle*, p. 70. Marot used

The spell of the famous poet's manner lies, in fact, upon much of the younger man's work. Sainte-Marthe was the first to acknowledge his extensive debt to his "pere d'alience:"

> "Que dirà l'on, de me veoir si hardy
> De composer apres toy, ô Clement?
> Mon cerveau n'est encor tant estourdy

this meter four times, Vols. II, pp. 100, 112, 121, and III, p. 97. Sainte-Marthe has also a quatrain of alternating nine and ten syllabled lines (A B A B), *Du mesme, avec allusion à son Nom, P. F.*, p. 47. This Marot did not use. Sainte-Marthe's arrangements of his rhymes also offers some variety. Aside from the ten-syllabled couplets of the epistles and elegies (he uses the eight-syllabled couplet only three times), the commonest is A B A B B C C D C D for both ten and eight-syllabled lines (ten-syllabled fifty-eight times, eight-syllabled six times); next in number are the arrangements A B A B B C B C (ten-syllabled lines nineteen times, — once two stanzas, — eight-syllabled twice; A B A B B C C (ten-syllabled lines seven times, — once five stanzas, — eight-syllabled once); quatrains A B A B (ten-syllabled lines five times, — once fourteen stanzas, once seven stanzas, — eight-syllabled twice). One of the arrangements in decasyllabic *septains*, A B A B B C C, *A la ville d'Arles, P. F.*, p. 25, and the poem of fourteen quatrains, *Le Philalethe, P. F.*, p. 40, are noticed by M. Laumonier among early lyrics probably inspired by Marot's example. *Ronsard*, p. 660. The following arrangements occur only once: in ten-syllabled lines: A B A A B B C C; A B A B B C C B; A B A B B; A A B A A B B C C; A A B A A B B C C D E D; A B A B B C C D D; A B A A B; A B B A A B; in eight-syllabled quatrains: A B B A.

Que ton pareil me dye aulcunement.
Car davant tous je confesse haultement
Que seulement ton aprentif je suis,
J'escris, j'invente, & fais ce que je puis.
On ne me peut tourner à impropere
Si escrivant totalement t'ensuis.
Qui reprendrà l'enfant qui suit son Pere?"
— *A Clement Marot son Pere d'alience, P. F.*, p. 55.

Thus loudly proclaiming his allegiance, Sainte-Marthe did follow Marot very close, close as an almost total lack of poetic talent would allow. Like Marot he writes verses on his "sœur d'alience,"[1] dwells, like him, upon the charm of his mistress' laugh,[2] boasts his unshaken love in the face of slander,[3] rebukes an inconstant love,[4]

[1] Marot, *D'alliance de sœur*, *Œuvres*, Vol. II, p. 56; Sainte-Marthe, *A Madamoiselle d'Estable sa seur d'alience*, *P. F.*, p. 159; *A Madame Magdaleine de la Tour, sa Sœur d'alience*, *P. F.*, p. 70.

[2] Marot, *Du rys de Madame d'Allebret*, *Œuvres*, Vol. III, p. 23; Sainte-Marthe, *A Madamoiselle Gacinette Loytaulde, Mere de Beringue s'Amye*, *P. F.*, p. 88.

[3] Marot, *Chanson*, "Vous perdez temps de me dire mal d'elle," *Œuvres*, Vol. III, p. 192; Sainte-Marthe, *De s'Amie & de soy*, *P. F.*, p. 60; *D'aulcuns mesdisans luy faisans reproche de la paouvreté de s'Amye*, *P. F.*, p. 33.

[4] Marot, *Chanson*, "Ma Dame ne m'a pas vendu," *Œuvres*, Vol. II, p. 183; Sainte-Marthe, *A une dame inconstante*, *P. F.*, p. 19.

or accompanies with verses a present of gloves.[1] And, in the latter instance, Sainte-Marthe, although not dealing with that particular subject as Marot does, and even borrowing his material, not from Marot, but from Saint-Gelais' *A un gand*,[2] successfully approaches his master's manner:

Pour un Gentil homme qui envoyoit des Gans à sa Dame

"Gans, advantaige à ce que j'ay perdu,
Allez, soyez au coiffes recompence.
Si je n'ay bien la pareille rendu
Parlez pour moy, excusez l'impuissance.
Guardez de froid, et de toute nuisance,
Ces blanches Mains tant dedans que dehors.
Ò pleust à Dieu que j'eusse la puissance
De vent et froid guarder tout son gent Corps."
— *P. F.*, p. 17.

Marot's translations of the psalms were in great vogue at court, though as yet unpublished;[3]

[1] Marot, *A une jeune dame, laquelle un veillard marié vouloit espouser et decevoir*. *Œuvres*, Vol. I, p. 175, at end; Sainte-Marthe, *loc. cit. infra*.

[2] *Œuvres*, Vol. I, p. 56.

[3] It will be remembered that in 1541 thirty of Marot's Psalms were printed in Paris, the complete fifty only in 1543; but they had been presented to the king and had begun to circulate in manuscript the year before Sainte-Marthe published his *Poesie Francoise*. Twelve had even been printed with five of Calvin's in the Stras-

Sainte-Marthe, too, must needs, like their author, "accompagner sur son flageolet la harpe du Prophète" [1] with a rhymed paraphrase of the One hundred and twentieth Psalm,[2] which the elder poet had not rendered. Marot's Epistle, *Au Roy pour avoir esté derobé*[3] was justly famous; Sainte-Marthe matched it with a *dixain* to his master, *A Marot, d'un sien valet qui l'avoit desrobé*, playing rather feebly upon its subject-matter:

> "Ton Serviteur le mien avoit apris,
> Ou tous deux ont esté à une Escholle.
> J'y ay esté, comme toy, si bien pris,
> Qu'il ne m'est pas demeuré une obolle.
> Le tien(t) estoit, de faict & de Parolle,
> Un vray Gascon; si le mien ne l'estoit,
> A tout le moins bonne mine portoit

burg Psalter in 1539. A translation of the Sixth Psalm had been published with Marguerite of Navarre's *Miroir de l'Ame pecheresse*, as early as 1533. *Cf.* F. Frank, *Marguerites de la Marguerite*, Vol. I, pp. lxxxvii, lxxxviii, and 150; and Tilley, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 70 and 71. Brunet mentions an edition of 1535 as reported but vainly searched for in the public library of Geneva.

[1] Sainte-Beuve of Marot, *Tableau de la Poésie Française au XVI^e siècle*, p. 24.

[2] *Paraphrase du Pseaulme 120, P. F.*, p. 48. Sainte-Marthe uses the quatrain of ten-syllabled lines with alternating rhymes which serves Marot for his translation of Psalms ii, xi, xii, and cvi.

[3] *Œuvres*, Vol. II, p. 195.

D'estre de Meurs au tien fort allié.
Gascon ne fut mais son Gascon sentoit:
Jouant un tour d'un Moyne resnié."
— *P. F.*, p. 13.

Nor can there be any doubt that the Ballade, *De Frère Lubin*,[1] was in the disciple's mind when he penned his *huitain, D'un frere Dœmonique blasmant l'escripture saincte:*

"Si Dæmonique contredit
Tousjours a l'Escripture saincte,
Si Dæmonique trop mesdit
Des bons, sans avoir de Dieu craincte,
Si Dæmonique à langue saincte
Et poursuit tous les Gentz de bien,
Ce n'est pas merveilleuse attaincte,
Car Dæmonique ne vault rien."
— *P. F.*, p. 27.

It was Marot's *dixain, De la duché d'Estampes*,[2] with its far-fetched pun upon the name of the duchy and the *Val de Tempé*, which undoubtedly suggested to Sainte-Marthe his most ambitious poem, an *Elegie. Du Tempé de France, en l'honneur de Madame la Duchesse d'Estampes*,[3] wherein he expands to great length the comparison made by Marot, whose translation of the *Metamorphoses* also, it is significant to note, in-

[1] Marot, *Œuvres*, Vol. II, p. 63.
[2] *Œuvres*, Vol. III, p. 45. [3] *P. F.*, p. 197.

cluded the passage relative to the vale of Tempe.[1] Moreover, whatever the poet's description of that happy valley may derive from Ælian and perhaps also from Lorenzo de' Medici,[2] it appears to owe something, at least, in general style, to the descriptions in the *Temple de Cupidon*. The reader will recall the "joye et deduyt" of Marot's "oyselets," his "arbres verdoyans" and "buyssons de verd boscage" when he reads Sainte-Marthe's account of Tempe:

> "Là, y avoit grands diversité
> De toutes flœurs, et verdoyants bocaiges
> Ou l'on oyoit les beaulx et doulx ramaiges
> Des oisillonts, chantants souefvement.
> Là, florissoyent touts Arbres noblement,
> Si tresespests qu'ilz sembloyent forets fortes,
> Et produysoyent des fruicts de toutes sortes,
> Amœnité leur umbraige rendoit
> Et de Phœbus tresestuant gardoit."
>
> —*P. F.*, p. 198.

From Marot's epistle, *Le Despourveu à madame la duchesse d'Alençon et de Berry, sœur unique du Roy*,[3] Sainte-Marthe borrowed ideas for two

[1] *Œuvres*, Vol. III, p. 188.

[2] A description occurs in the *Silva d'Amore*, *Opere*, Vol. II, p. 89 *et seq.*

[3] *Œuvres*, Vol. I, p. 134.

of his addresses to the duchesse d'Estampes. In the first, the prose dedication of his whole volume,[1] he elaborates Marot's simple image of himself as saved from the sea of misfortune by Marguerite into a description of his own "vaine & jeune fatigue, laquelle non aultrement que apres longue & griefve tempeste, le palle et travaillé Nocher, descouvrant de loing la Terre, à laquelle avec tout estude il s'efforce de se saulver, recueille le mieux qu'il peut tous les fragments de sa navire rompue, j'ay amascée pour à ton Port tresdiré la diriger. . . . Tu doncques," he continues, "une entre nostre siecle des belles treserudite, des erudites tres belle, . . . recepvras benignement les tables de mon naufrage par divers cass de la fortune conduitte, finablement en petits faiz reduittes, et maintenant en ce tien Havre, ou de long temps les Muses commodement se retirent, assurément arrivées, etc."[2] Again, Sainte-Marthe, emulating Marot's use in the same epistle of the personifications of the older poetry, introduces *Honte and Hardiesse* in the rôles which

[1] *Epistre A Tresillustre et Tresnoble Princesse, Madame la Duchesse d'Estampes et Contesse de Poinctieure, P. F.*, pp. 3-5. *Cf.* p. 563 *et seq.*

[2] *P. F.*, pp. 4, 5.

Marot had given to *Crainte* and *Bon Espoir*, *Honte* endeavoring in twenty-four rhymed couplets to dissuade him from addressing the Duchess, while *Hardiesse* in seventeen successfully encourages him to the attempt.[1] Finally, Sainte-Marthe even imitates from Marot a certain cynicism in the matter of love wholly different from his own usual view, as in two epigrams, *De l'inegalle & injuste recompense du service d'Amours* and *Que, sans Argent, Amour est mal asseuré*.[2] In one poem of this order, in fact, he so closely approached Marot's manner as to deceive at least three modern editors:

A une Dame, qui contentoit ses servants de parolle.

"Dame vous avez beau maintien
Et grand grace en vostre langaige,
Mais tous celà est peu ou rien,
Si vous ne faictes davantaige.
J'accorde bien que c'est un gaige
De pouvoir jouir quelque jour,
Si ce n'est pas le perfaict tour
Qu'il fault pour achever l'affaire:
Pour avoir le deduit d'Amour
Vault mieux peu dire et beaucoup faire."

— *P. F.*, p. 68.

[1] *A Madame la Duchesse d'Estampes*, *P. F.*, pp. 125–129.
[2] *P. F.*, pp. 18 and 65.

This is not the only one of Sainte-Marthe's productions which found a place among the works of a man who expressed a lively dislike of such intrusions.[1] Marot had composed a rondeau, *Sur la devise de Madame de Lorraine, Amour et Foy.*[2] Sainte-Marthe imitated this with another, *A Salel, valet de chambre du Roy, Sur sa divise,*[3] and this imitation has also found its way into standard collections of Marot's works. And the same is the case with four other poems.[4]

[1] *Cf.* his preface to the 1538 edition of his works. *Clement Marot à Etienne Dolet, Œuvres,* Vol. IV, pp. 194–196. Pasquier's remark seems applicable to Marot's editors of the eighteenth and nineteenth, as of the sixteenth, century. "S'il se presente quelque epigramme, ou autre trait de gentille invention dont on ne scache le nom de l'autheur, on ne doute de le luy attribuer et l'inserer dedans ses œuvres comme sien." *Recherches de la France, Œuvres,* p. 714.

[2] *Œuvres,* Vol. II, p. 162.

[3] "Honneur te guide," *P. F.*, p. 90.

[4] The others were: (1) the second of the two eight-lined stanzas composing the poem *A noble Seigneur, Monsieur Francois de Muillion, seigneur de Ribbiers, en le remerciant des biens qu'il luy a faictz, P. F.*, p. 34; (2) *A ma Damoiselle Beringue, Quel martyre c'est, brusler d'affection & n'oser parler pour la descouvrir,* Dixain, *P. F.*, p. 75; (3) *A Monsieur de S. Remy, luy estant en necessite à Vincence,* Rondeau, *P. F.*, p. 92; (4) *A Thomon Pitrel, que c'est grand richesse d'estre content,* Rondeau, *P. F.*,

Yet these poems do not exemplify Sainte-

p. 105. These, as well as those mentioned above, were incorporated by Lenglet Dufresnoy, with various poems by other hands, in his edition of Marot's works, The Hague, 1731, under the general heading, *Poesies Nouvelles Pour les deux premiers Tomes des Œuvres de Clement Marot.* Vol. III, pp. 493–522. Dufresnoy, Vol. III, p. 493, expressly declines to vouch for the authorship of one of the poems, Heroet's *Douleur et Volupté,* identified by Georges Guiffrey, *Marot,* Vol. II, p. 503,—and, by his heading, casts a doubt also upon that of the others. Except in the case of the Rondeau to Salel, he also states, Vol. III, pp. 504, 506, the source to which he is indebted for the poems by Sainte-Marthe and others, attributed to Marot, and from which he drew also Sainte-Marthe's epigram on the news of Marot's death, *Epigramme de Saincte Marthe à Clement Marot sur le bruit de sa mort,* here, p. 521, attributed to Gaucher de Sainte-Marthe, besides the *Douleur et Volupté* and various other poems, some, no doubt, actually by Marot.

This source is a collection of poems published by Denis Janot in 1544 entitled (according to Dufresnoy): *Recueil de vraye Poësie Françoise prinse de plusieurs Poëtes.* In spite of Dufresnoy's disclaimer, the six poems in question reappeared in Lacroix' edition of Marot's works published by Rapilly, Paris, 1824, without any question of their authenticity; and Pierre Jannet, *Bib. Elzevirienne,* Paris, 1883, followed this lead, merely classifying Sainte-Marthe's poems with others, according to their various *genres* as *Rondeaux tirés d'autres éditions,* Vol. II, p. 167; *Epigrammes tirées de diverses autres éditions,* Vol. III, p. 101, other, *i.e.* than those upon which he based his own, viz.: Dolet's, Lyons, 1538, that of the *Enseigne du Rocher,* Lyons, 1544, and Portau's, Niort, 1596. Certain

Marthe's closet imitation of Marot. It is in his

of the six appeared also in Després' *Œuvres choisies de Clément Marot*, Paris, 1826, as *Pièces attribuées à Marot;* in Héricault's *Œuvres de Clément Marot*, Paris, 1867; and in Voizard's *Œuvres Choisies de Clement Marot*, Paris, 1888.

The titles of Sainte-Marthe's poems in the *Recueil* and in the editions mentioned vary from those of the *Poesie Francoise:* the *dixain cit. supra, A une Dame qui contentoit ses servants de parolle*, appears in the *Recueil*, p. 56, and in Jannet's ed., Vol. III, p. 114, as *D'une qui contentoit ses servans de paroles;* in Dufresnoy's ed., Vol. III, p. 512, and Rapilly's, Vol. II, p. 473, its title is, *A une Dame qui fasoit force promesses à ses amans.* The rondeau to Salel is entitled in the *Recueil*, p. 45, *Rondeau sur la Devise de Salet* (*sic*) *varlet du chambre du Roy;* Després, p. 45, gives it as *Sur la devise de Hugues Salel;* Dufresnoy, Vol. III, p. 507, Rapilly's ed., Vol. II, p. 139, Jannet, Vol. II, p. 171, and Voizard, p. 315, add *valet de chambre du Roy François I*, Dufresnoy prefixing *Autre Rondeau.* The whole of the poem numbered (1) *supra* appears in the *Recueil*, p. 71, divided into two poems, *Non estre ingrat des biensfaitz*, and *Huictain.* Only the second half appears in the editions of Lenglet Dufresnoy, Vol. III, p. 517, Rapilly, Vol. II, p. 370, Jannet, Vol. III, p. 117, and Després, p. 451, as *Autre Epigramme, Epigramme* and *Huictain*, respectively. The poem numbered (2) *supra* is, in the *Recueil*, p. 53, and in Jannet, Vol. III, p. 113, *Dixain de n'oser descouvrir son affection;* Dufresnoy, Vol. III, p. 511, and Rapilly's ed., Vol. II, p. 473, give it as *Amours qu'on n'ose decouvrir*, Dufresnoy prefacing *Autre Epigramme.* The poem numbered (3) *supra*, appears in the *Recueil*, p. 42, simply as *Rondeau*, and as *Autre Rondeau* in Dufresnoy's ed.,

use of the mordant epigram, where indeed he is

Vol. III, p. 505; Rapilly's ed., Vol. II, p. 132, Jannet, Vol. II, p. 168, and Voizard, p. 314, have *A un pour avoir de l'argent.* Lenglet Dufresnoy remarks in a note, "Ce Rondeau sent bien son Marot qui manque d'argent à tout moment, & qui en demande à un grand Seigneur." The poem numbered (4) *supra* becomes, in the *Recueil,* p. 44, *Rondeau sur chascun soit content de ses biens, qui n'a suffisance il n'a rien;* Dufresnoy, Vol. III, p. 506, Rapilly's ed., Vol. II, p. 133, Jannet, Vol. II, p. 167, Després, p. 450, Héricault, p. 206, and Voizard, p. 313, give it as *Sur ces mots:*

Chacun soit content de ses biens,
Qui n'a suffisance n'a riens.

Paul Lacroix (*Bibliophile Jacob*) reprinted the *Recueil* in question. He describes the original as a small 8vo of 56 fols. unpaginated, in italics, and accompanied by woodcuts or a woodcut (*avec fig. sur bois*), credits it with four editions, and gives its title-page as *Recueil de vraye Poësie Francoise prinse de plusieurs Poëtes, les plus excellentz de ce regne. Avec privilege du Roy pour cinq ans,* 1544. *De l'imprimerie de Denys Janot, imprimeur du Roy, en langue francoyse, et libraire juré de l'Université de Paris. On les vend au Palais en la gallerie par où l'on va à la chancellerie, es bouticques de Jan Longis et Vincent Sertenas libraires.* The Bib. de l'Arsenal contains two copies of the second edition: *Le Recueil de Poesie Francoyse, Prinse de plusieurs Poëtes, les plus excellentz de ce regne. A Lyon. Par Jean Temporal 1550.* Unpaginated. Typographic mark no. 186 (Silvestre), both on title and final pages. Only one copy is complete. The Bib. de l'Arsenal contains also a copy of the fourth edition which has a different title. *Poesie Facecieuse, extraitte des*

at his best, that he most resembles his model.

œuvres des plus fameux Poëttes de nostre siecle. Imprimé nouvellement. A Lyon. Par Benoist Rigaud, 1559. Typographical mark no. 1302 (Silvestre). The references *supra* have been made to this edition, which has the advantage of pagination. It was upon this that Lacroix based his reprint. He gives its title-page, omitting the words *des œuvres*. Lacroix evidently confuses the fourth edition with the second copy of the second edition. He adds an appendix containing the eleven pieces — none of them Sainte-Marthe's — occurring in the first and second editions and omitted in the fourth, and gives in his prefatory notice a list of six pieces, one of them by Saint-Gelais, added in the fourth edition, none, however, by Charles de Sainte-Marthe.

The *Recueil*, at least in its first two editions, contains one hundred and twenty-five poems, of which all but five are anonymous. Of these five, one is by Sainte-Marthe, *A Marot, du faulx bruict de sa mort*, *P. F.*, p. 59. Of the anonymous poems, twenty-four are by Sainte-Marthe, one at least, *Douleur et Volupté*, by Heroet, one at least by Rabelais, and a fair number perhaps actually by Marot. This hardly warrants Dufresnoy's remark, Vol. III, p. 493: "Ce recueil ne contient gueres autre chose que des poësies de Marot & de son amy Saint Gelais," nor Lacroix's reference to it, *op. cit.*, p. vi, as "composé pour la plus grande partie de pièces inédites ou nouvellement imprimées de Clément Marot." Lacroix adds indeed that the editor, — whom he inclines to identify with Des Essarts, — "a glissé dans son Recueil quelques pièces qui n'étaient pas de Clément Marot"!

I should have supposed that Jannet had not consulted Lacroix's Reprint, since he adds nothing to Lenglet

Here, undoubtedly through Marot, he owed much

Dufresnoy's selection of poems from the *Recueil* were it not that, in two instances (*cf. supra*), he goes back to the titles in the *Recueil* where Dufresnoy has departed from them. If he did consult it, it is remarkable that he neither added to Dufresnoy's selection nor cast any doubts upon Marot's authorship of the poems attributed to him. It is no less curious that Dufresnoy was not struck by the omission of Sainte-Marthe's six poems from the early editions of Marot; especially in the case of those editions subsequent to the publication of the *Recueil,* considering the number published in the sixteenth century, and the variety of their editors.

The other poems of Sainte-Marthe included in the *Recueil* are, in addition to the six already dealt with (Lacroix' reprint, pp. 50, 40, 66, 48, 38, 40):

(1) *Le Cueur reprend l'oeil de regard trop vollaige, & le prie de s'en retirer. Vers Alexandrins, P. F.*, p. 36. In the *Recueil*, p. 19, — Lacroix, 17 —, the last eight words are omitted.

(2) *A Marot. Du faulx bruict de sa Mort, P. F.*, p. 59. (*Cf.* p. 530) In the *Recueil*, p. 77, — Lacroix, 73 —, its title is *Saincte-Marthe à Marot.* Lenglet Dufresnoy includes this with Marot's works as *Epigramme de Saincte Marthe à Clement Marot sur le bruit de sa mort,* Vol. III, p. 521, but attributes it to "Scevole ou Gaucher de Sainte-Marthe, premier Medecin du Roi François premier, et contemporain de Clement Marot."

(3) *A Monsieur le Baron de Bressieux, D'un qui mesdisoit de luy en son absence, P. F.*, p. 59. In the *Recueil*, p. 47, — Lacroix, 42 —: *Dizain d'un qui mesdisoit d'un autre en son absence.*

(4) *De s'Amie & de soy, P. F.*, p. 60. In the *Recueil*, p. 76, — Lacroix, 72 —: *Autre* (*i.e.* quatrain) *des Mesdisantz.*

to Martial, and many instances might be adduced

(5) *A un grand prometteur sans effect*, *P. F.*, p. 63. The *Recueil*, p. 73, — Lacroix, 68 —, omits the word *grand* and adds *Triolet*.

(6) *A un Maistre d'hostel d'un Abbé detractant de luy*, *P. F.*, p. 64. In the *Recueil*, p. 48, — Lacroix, 43 —: *Du Maistre d'hostel de Monsieur de Boessieux* (*i.e.* Bressieux) *qui detractoit d'autruy*.

(7) *A un usurier. Virlay*, *P. F.*, p. 64. Altered in the *Recueil*, p. 78, — Lacroix, 74—, to *D'un usurier. Virelay*.

(8) *Que, sans Argent, Amour est mal asseuré*, *P. F.*, p. 65. In the *Recueil*, p. 56, — Lacroix, 51 —: *Amour est mal asseuré sans argent*.

(9) *A un ord Villain qui, en compaignie de Dames, jactoit la grosseur de son Membre*. *P. F.*, p. 35. In the *Recueil*, p. 70, — Lacroix, 65 —, the words "*ord villain*" are omitted.

(10) *A un brave qui menaceoit chascun*, *P. F.*, p. 69. The same in the *Recueil*, p. 53, — Lacroix, 50.

(11) *A noble Edmond Odde, Seigneur de Triors. Du cloistre de la Langue*. *P. F.*, p. 72. In the *Recueil*, p. 19, — Lacroix, 17 —, simply *Du cloistre de la Langue*.

(12) *Qu'on ne doibt desister de poursuivre son entreprise, quoy qu'on ayt des competiteurs*, *P. F.*, p. 75. In the *Recueil*, p. 55, — Lacroix, 49 —, *De ne desister de poursuivre son entreprise*.

(13) *D'un qui avoit revélé son secret*, *P. F.*, p. 76. The same in the *Recueil*, p. 54, — Lacroix, 49 —, with slight alteration in line 6.

(14) *A un estant jaloux de s'Amye*, *P. F.*, p. 77. In the *Recueil*, p. 53, — Lacroix, 48 —, *Dizain d'un jaloux de s'Amye*. The third line altered.

(15) *A André Tardivon, Courrier de Romans*, *P. F.*, p.

of his skill in imitations of this order.[1] Two or three must suffice, however. Sainte-Marthe, like other liberals, must needs have his fling at the monks, and especially the Franciscans. Of

89. In the *Recueil*, p. 44, — Lacroix, 39 —, *Rondeau, Mal sur Mal estre santé*. Punctuation — and sense — of the ninth line altered.

(16) *A R. Pere en Dieu Monseigneur Anne de Grolée, Abbé de S. Pierre de Vienne, P. F.*, p. 166. In the *Recueil*, p. 27, — Lacroix, 24 —, *A Monsieur de Boessieux, Abbé de Saint Pierre de Vienne.*

(17) *A un superbe Detracteur, P. F.*, p. 176. The same in the *Recueil*, p. 22, — Lacroix, 20.

(18) *A une Dame ingrate, Pour un Gentilhomme, prenant congé d'elle, P. F.*, p. 186. In the *Recueil*, p. 25, — Lacroix, 23 —, *Epistre d'un Gentilhomme à une dame en prenant congé d'elle.* Change in line 28.

[1] There are thirty-seven such epigrams in Sainte-Marthe's volume. The most worthy of note, in addition to those given, are the following:

A René le Fevre, Que sur toutes bestes, l'homme est à craindre, P. F., p. 12. *Cf.* p. 531.

Au Painctre qui avoit portraict un Moyne au vif, P. F., p. 19.

De la variable & diverse signification de ce nom Escot. P. F., p. 45.

D'un Moyne et de la femme d'un Libraire, P. F., p. 67.

D'une Dame qui mal parloit de luy, apres avoir esté par luy extollée jusqu'au ciel, P. F., p. 50.

D'aulcuns siens Parents mais maulvais Amys, P. F., p. 52.

A un superbe Detracteur, P. F., p. 176.

several epigrams to their address, the best is the following:

Du mesme (*i.e.* "un Cordelier") *parlant apres sa Mort à ses Freres.*

Sus, lisez tous, Freres, diligemment
Que dit l'Escot du merite condigne,
Car l'on ma dit icy apertement
A me saulver mon Merite estre indigne.
Mais j'ay monstré à Jesu Christ, par signe,
Qu'il ne debvoit me faire tel exces.
Lisez, lisez en ce Docteur tresdigne,
Car j'ay espoir d'en gagner mon proces.
— *P. F.*, p. 46.

In another epigram Sainte-Marthe jests after Rabelais:

D'un Evesque portatif.[1]

"Monsieur l'Evesque portatif,
Oster un R vous fauldra.
Puis, si le nom est potatif,
Cest ce que mieulx vous conviendra."
— *P. F.*, p. 28.

Rabelais himself may, not impossibly have sat for a satiric picture of a bibulous Franciscan:

A un Docteur seraphiqué par compotations vespertines.

Monsieur le Docteur, par ta Foy,
As tu tant estudié que beu?

[1] *I.e.* Bishop *in partibus*. Rabelais in the catalogue of the library of St. Victor names "Les potingues des evesques potatifs," *Œuvres*, Vol. I, p. 249.

Si respondz que non je t'en croy,
Aussy l'avois je toutsjours creu.
Long temps y à que l'ay cogneu
A la couleur de ta medaille:
Car l'estudiant advient tout palle,
Et par estude exterminé:
Mais celuy qui bon vin avalle
Est (comme toy) Herminé.

—*P. F.*, p. 71.

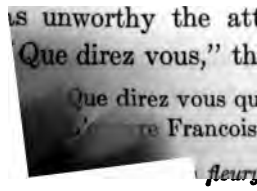
A punning *huitain* of this epigrammatic sort but by no means in Sainte-Marthe's best vein, was rather unkindly quoted by Du Verdier "pour montrer seulement le style de l'auteur":

A un quidem, qui se disoit homme de bien.

"Tu te fais tant homme de bien,
Si ainsi est, n'est peu de chose;
Ce neantmoins je n'en croy rien
Quoyque ton Cerveau te propose:
Car le Sainct Evangile expose
Que nul n'est bon, fors seullement
Le Seigneur Dieu, certainement
Tu n'es pas Dieu, mais pecheur. Donc
Je te diray tout haultement
Qu'homme de bien tu ne fuz oncq

Enough has been said to show
purpose, Sainte-Marthe follows
steps of "le poete
Marot. His disc

manner and subject. He was eagerly receptive of the ideas of his model. Marot, for instance, was concerned for the glory of his mother-tongue. Following the example set by his publisher, Geoffroy Tory,[1] he wished to do his share towards enriching his own language, — his translation of the *Metamorphoses*, for example, was to be a "decoration grande en nostre langue";[2] Sainte-Marthe, after him, deprecated the idea that he could wish to "deprimer l'exercise de la mienne Langue Vulgaire," and proclaimed in his dedication to the Duchesse d'Estampes the conviction that he could offer no "plus louable sacrifice à ma Nation que d'illustrer sa Langue selon mon rudde Esprit."[3] And this was at a time, — Sainte-Marthe himself is our witness, — when to compose verse in the vernacular was regarded as unworthy the attention of a learned man. "Que direz vous," thus he addresses his father:



Que direz vous quand vous viendrez à lire
[illegible] Francois de celuy, qui escrire

[1] *fleury*. *Cf.* Tilley, *Lit. of the French* , pp. 32 and 33.

[2] *chant la Metamorphose*, *Œuvres*, Vol.

Selon raison, et vostre jugement,
Pour s'acquitter, debvoit tout aultrement?

* * * * *

Si demandes, pourquoy doncques ma Muse
(Veu qui puis plus) à ces Fatras m'amuse,
Et que soubdain je ne mets en avant
Œuvre sentant homme qui soit scavant:

* * * * *

Avec le temps (sans de.rien se jacter)
On verra bien celà qu'il (mon esprit) scait traiter."
— *A son Seigneur et Pere*, etc. *P. F.*, pp. 148 and 149.

If Sainte-Marthe does not, in the poem from which these lines are taken, attempt the defense of poetry in the vernacular upon any grounds other than that of its charm as a pleasant recreation, elsewhere, as we shall see, he comes vigorously enough to the defense of the French language.

In this regard Marot was not Sainte-Marthe's only inspiration. Dolet had just published his *Maniere de bien traduire d'une langue en aultre*,[1] intended as earnest of a larger work already

[1] The dedication to de Langey is dated *ce dernier jour de May*. A modern reprint by Techener, *cit.* Tilley, Vol. I, p. 33 n.

composed, the *Orateur Francoys*,[1] and Sainte-Marthe had immediately proclaimed his admiration in a *dixain* published with it.[2] Now, Dolet gives his desire to "illustrer" the French tongue

[1] It was the existence of this book which Du Bellay offered as one reason for not treating of the orator as well as of the poet, *Deffence*, p. 161. He was, perhaps, ignorant of the fact that the work contained a chapter on *L'art poetique* as well as on *L'art oratoire*. In view of Du Bellay's approval, the following passage has its interest: "Il te fault garder d'usurper mots trops approchants du Latin; et peu usités par le passé; mais contente toy du commun, sans innover aulcunes dictions follement, et par curiosité reprehensible. Ce que, si aulcuns font, ne les ensuy en cela: car leur arrogance ne vault rien et n'est tolerable entre les gens scavants. Pour cela n'entends pas que je dy, que le traducteur s'abstienne totallement de mots qui sont hors de l'usage commun: car on scait bien que la langue Grecque, ou Latine est trop plus riche en dictions que la Francoyse. Qui nous contrainct souvent d'user de mots peu frequentes. Mais cela se doibt faire à l'extreme necessité, etc." *Maniere de bien traduire*, p. 14.

[2] In the *Maniere de bien traduire*, p. 33, it is entitled *Au Lecteur Francoys, Dixain de Saincte Marthe*. Reprinted in the *Poesie Francoise*, p. 78, it became *Aux Francois, du Livre de Dolet, de la langue Francoise*. The versions differ only in the spelling of three words, which in Dolet's book are *Francoys*, *langage* and *usage*. M. Chamard quotes it, recognizing in its author one of Du Bellay's precursors, *Joachim du Bellay*, p. 10; and refers to it again in his review of P. de Longuemare's work. Rev. d'Hist. Litt., 1903, p. 349. It is reprinted by Copley Christie, *Etienne Dolet*, p. 357.

as one reason for composing his book in French, and it was probably from him that Sainte-Marthe borrowed a phrase which Du Bellay was to render famous. "L'une (raison) est que mon affection est telle envers l'honneur de mon pais qui je veulx trouver tout moyen de l'illustrer;" writes Dolet, "et ne le puis mieulx faire que de celebrer sa langue comme ont faict Grecs et Romains la leur."[1] In the *dixain*, which Sainte-Marthe republished in the *Poesie Francoise*, his own enthusiasm for the French language is no less clear than his admiration of Dolet:

"Pourquoy es tu d'aultruy admirateur
Vilipendant le tien propre langaige?
Est ce (Francois) que tu n'as instructeur,
Qui d'iceluy te remonstre l'usaige?
Maintenant as, à ce, grand advantaige,
Si vers ta Langue as quelque affection.
Dolet t'y donne une introduction
Si bonne en tout, qu'il n'y a que redire,
Car il t'enseigne (ô noble invention)
D'escrire bien, bien tourner et bien dire."

A long epistle, *Aux Francois, en recommendation du Livre de Dolet*,[2] however, brings out Sainte-

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 3 and 4.

[2] *P. F.*, p. 177. The full title is, *Aux Francoys, en recommendation du Livre de Dolet, de la maniere de*

Marthe's own attitude even more clearly than does the *dixain*. Dolet by his efforts, says the poet,

"L'immortel bruict de sa Langue procure —
Pour au Francoys, Francois habituer;"
— *P. F.*, p. 177.

the purpose of his book is,

"ô noble esprit Francoys,
Affin que tien (non plus à aultruy) sois;"
— *Ibid.*

the book itself

"te sert de perfaict exemplaire,
Non seulement en ta Langue vulgaire,
Pour bien parler ou escrire (combien
Que cela seul te soit nompareil bien)
Mais . . .
. . . à plain entendre la Latine."
— *Ibid.*, p. 178.

Further on, Sainte-Marthe thus exhorts his countrymen:

"Parquoy, Francoys, si dans ton cueur tu aymes
Ta nation, ton honneur et toy mesmes

traduire, punctuer & accentuer, en nostre Langue. Avecques exhortation à tous lettrés Francoys, s'aymer et soubtenir l'un l'aultre. It will be observed that both this poem and the *Dixain* distort the title of Dolet's book. The poem is noticed by M. Chamard. Rev. d'Hist. Litt., *loc. cit.*, p. 349. Copley Christie surprisingly omits any reference to it.

Demonstre toy du Bien recognoissant
Qui est moyen que ton bruit va croissant," etc.
— *Ibid.*, p. 179 and 180.

Dolet, he says, has shown the language to be full of "graves mots, termes et dictions," as well as in itself "tresantique et noblement famée." He grows eloquent as he continues:

"Ce labeur est à nostre Langue lustre
Pour l'advancer, et rendre tresillustre,
Pour l'advancer et poulser en avant
En luy gardant le los qu'avoit davant.
Ne veulx tu donq', ô Francois, y entendre?
Ne veulx tu donc virilement contendre
Contre quelcuns Barbares estrangiers,[1]
Qui les Francoys disent estre legiers?" etc.
— *Ibid.*, pp. 180 and 181.

Again he takes up the cudgels for France in comparison with other nations:

"Qu'à l'Italie, ou toute l'Allemaigne
La Grece, Escoce, Angleterre ou Hespaigne
Plus que la France? est ce point de tous biens?
Estce qu'ilz ont aux Arts plus de moyens?
Ou leurs Esprits plus aiguz que les nostres?

[1] Here Sainte-Marthe neatly turns the tables on the foreigners. Dolet had written of his book: "pars le moins pense que c'est commencement, qui pourra parvenir à fin telle, que les estrangiers ne nous appellent plus Barbares. p. 6.

Ou bien qu'ilz sont plus scavants que nous aultres?
Tant s'en fauldra que leur vueillons cedder,
Que nous dirons plus tost les excedder."

—*Ibid.*, p. 181.

This is not the only passage of the poem which faintly strikes notes more vigorously sounded nine years later by Du Bellay.[1] "Que sert il," exclaims Sainte-Marthe

"Langue estrange tourner
Si la tournant tu ne la scays orner?"[2]

—*Ibid.*, p. 178.

And again:

"Il ta monstré tresfacille maniere,
Comment pourras getter ton fondement
Sur le latin, puis bastir bellement:
Donnant à ce, la matiere propice,
Pour eslever en l'Air ton edifice."[3]

—*Ibid.*, p. 180.

The most noteworthy passage however is the following, with its reminiscence of Horace:[4]

"Quelcun pourra Paintre de nom se faindre,
Mais s'il ne peut aulcune image paindre

[1] *Cf.* Du Bellay's *Deffence*, Bk. I, first four chapters, esp. pp. 50-52, 63-64, 73-74, 76, 80-81.

[2] *Cf.* Du Bellay, *op. cit.*, pp. 84-89.

[3] *Cf.* Du Bellay, *op. cit.*, pp. 99–102.

[4] *Cf.* A. P. 86,

"Descriptas servare vicas operumque colores
Cur ego si nequeo ignoroque poeta salutor?"

Ou, la paignant, s'il n'accomode point,
Ainsy qu'il fault, les couleurs à leur poinct,
Le debvons nous painctre penser ou dire?
Rien n'est aussi, en quelque Langue escrire,
Sans y avoir des mots varieté,
Et en user en leur proprieté.
Il faut avoir avecques cest usaige
Bon jugement & doulceur de langaige,
Y ajouxtant (pour la perfection)
Ordre d'accents et punctuation."

— *Ibid.*, p. 179.

If it were rash to claim that this passage anticipates the theory, disseminated by Pléiade, that the poet must have both native gifts and training, must be "porté de fureur et d'art," at least it contains the idea of art, — the gift, it has been said, of Italy to the French Renaissance,[1] — and proves its author well abreast of the new ideas of his time.

If Sainte-Marthe can lay no just claim to such honors as were thrust upon him by Dolet, who repaid his friend's admiration by crediting him with such a style

"touchant nostre parler,
(Parler Francoys, plaisant à touts humains),
Que jusqu'au Ciel on veoit ton loz aller,"[2]

[1] Gustave Lanson, *Hist. de la Litt. française*, pp. 218 and 219.

[2] *Etienne Dolet, A S. Marthe. Livre de ses Amys*, *P. F.*, p. 232. *Cf.* p. 544.

he at least deserves credit for having, at so early a date, made even a faint approach to theory in criticism. He had theories also, it appears, on questions of rhyme as of morphology: "Tu pourras aussi redarguer," he writes, in his *au Lecteur* which deals with *errata*, "que, en la rhythmie, je semble ne faire deue observation des terminations: comme rythmant tant & tent; ance & ence; ante, ente; aistre, estre; aire, ere; ange, enge; cer, ser; ouse, ose; né, n'ay; & semblables. Mais je te pry ne t'advancer a m'en reprendre jusques à ce qu'auras sceu ma fantaisie. Je n'observe aussi la termination des premieres personnes des verbes: comme dys, dy; veois, veoy; & semblables: m'accommodant au commun usaige, jusqu'a ce que plus amplement en ays traicté en mon Livre de la conjunction des quatre Langues, lequel je te prepare." [1]

Sainte-Marthe's enthusiasm for his mother tongue and his elementary ideas in regard to composition, rhymes or terminations are of less moment for his place in the history of the French Renaissance than his early imitation of Italian models. Petrarchism has been said by

[1] *P. F.*, p. 224.

M. Faguet to consist of a collection of formulæ, perfectly defined and consecrated, into which the poet may dip at leisure. In the same passage[1] that author notes that the program of the perfect Petrarchist can hardly be better described than by Du Bellay in his satire *Contre les petrarquistes:*

"Ce n'est que feu de leurs froides chaleurs,
Ce n'est qu'horreur de leurs feintes douleurs,
Ce n'est encor de leurs soupirs et pleurs,
Que vent, pluie, et orages;
Et bref, ce n'est à ouir leurs chansons
De leurs amours, que flammes et glacons,
Flèches, liens, et mille autre facons
De semblables outrages.
* * * * *
De vos beautés, ce n'est que tout fin or,
Perles, cristal, marbre et ivoire encor,
Et tout l'honneur de l'indique trésor,
Fleurs, lis, œilet, et roses;
De vos douceurs ce n'est que sucre et miel
De vos rigeurs, n'est qu'aloès et fiel,
De vos esprits, c'est tout ce que le ciel
Tient de grâces encloses.

The phenomenon here indicated appeared in France only after the best intelligences of the

[1] *Desportes.* Rev. des Cours et Conferences. Vol. I, p. 418. *Cf.* also *Seizième Siècle*, p. 301.

country had been absorbing Italian influences for some forty years, and may be fairly said to date from the supposed discovery of Laura's tomb in 1533. That incident interested François I, who ordered a sumptuous tomb built at Avignon and even composed for the occasion verses [1] which naturally aroused the poets of his realm to emulation and compliment. Marot took the occasion to pay a tribute to the king:

"O Laure, Laure, il t'a esté besoing
D'aymer l'honneur & d'estre vertueuse
Car François Roy sans cela n'eust prins soing
De t'honorer de tumbe sumptueuse," etc.
—*Du Roy et de Laure, Œuvres*, Vol. III, p. 39.

Saint-Gelais was ready with a *dixain* and a *huitain* on the same subject, doubting in the latter whether his subjects, or Laura, or Petrarch owed most to the king.[2] Macrin went further, and, in Latin verses,[3] debated whether Laura

[1] They are reprinted by Blanchemain as part of La Monnoye's note on a poem of Saint-Gelais *cit. infra*, *Œuvres* de Melin de Sainct-Gelays, Vol. II, p. 166. It was La Monnoye who attributed them to François I. Blanchemain suggests that they may actually be by Saint-Gelais. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 44, note.

[2] *Œuvres*, Vols. II, p. 165, and III, p. 3.

[3] Included in *Benedicti Theocreni . . . Poemata*, fol. Eij r°.

herself owed her fame most to Petrarch or to the king, and the subject was equally welcome to smaller poets like Tagliacarne, bishop of La Grasse, who, also in Latin, represented Phœbus as congratulating himself that Francis would revive the glory of his laurel tree.[1] It is significant to find the effusions of the two latter included in a volume containing also a poem showing the Italian sympathies of another poet, Colin, who shortly afterwards translated the *Cortigiano*:[2] *Iacobi Colini ad Federicum Fregosium Musa loquitur*.[3] The fact that, in this very year, a French press put forth a work steeped in Petrarch, the *Opere Toscane* of Luigi Alemanni,[4] dedicated to the king, may have given intensity to the current of thought already directed towards Italy. In any case, from this time on, interest in Petrarch remained alive, and imita-

[1] *Benedicti Theocreni . . . Poemata.* In the last of three poems on the subject by him: *De rege Francisco & Laura Francisci Petrarchæ amica; De eadem*, fol. Ej v°; *De eadem*, fol. Eij r°.

[2] In 1537, the year after the publication of the volume in question.

[3] *Op. cit.*, fol. G iiij.

[4] On the title page under the King's salamander is the legend, "Sovr' ôgni uso mortal m' è dato albergo."

tions of him — clumsy indeed at first — continued to appear until the poets of the Pléiade set upon the movement the seal of their genius. By 1535 Petrarch's name was sufficiently in the mouths of men for Saint-Gelais to refer to him as a matter of course:

"Car il (amour) est trop rusé
Et n'en croyez Petrarque ny Ovide;"
— *Œuvres*, Vol. III, p. 5.

In 1537, Almanaque Papillon writes of him as the poet of love par excellence. Argent addresses Cupid:

"Mays en premier de toy triumpheray
Et deshonneur de vaincu te feray,
Et si auray d'un nouveau dieu la marque
Pour en ton lieu estre mys en Petrarque."
— *La Victoire et Triumphe d'Argent contre Cupido*, fol. A viij, v°.

In 1540, Dolet quotes Aretino, Sannazar, Petrarch, and Bembo as authorities for composition in the vernacular,[1] and, by 1542, imitation of the Italian poet was so frequent that Heroet could write:

"Ne recevez, Dames, aulcune craincte
Quand vous oyez des doloureux la plaincte.
Tous les escripts et larmoyants autheurs,

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 4.

Tous le Petrarcque et ses imitateurs,
Qui de souspirs et de froydes querelles
Remplissent l'air en parlant aux estoilles,
Ne facent point soupsonner qu'à aymer
Entre le doulx il y ayt de l'amer."
— *La parfaicte amye*, p. 70 *et seq.*

Before Heroet penned these lines, the chief imitators of Petrarch and of the modern Italian Petrarchists were Marot, Saint-Gelais and Salel. Although Marot's *Six Sonnetz de Petrarque* were still in the future, he had already composed the only two sonnets so far published in France, and his *Visions de Petrarque*, a translation of one of the *Canzoni*,[1] had appeared as early as 1534 in the *Fleurs de Poesie Francoyse*.[2] Nor are other traces of the influence of the great Italian poet lacking in Marot's early work. In 1536 he had written an epigram to Saint-Gelais, *A soy mesmes, De Madame Laure*,[3] and, even before 1533, he, whose native vein is better expressed in the cynical *Chanson*, "Le cueur de vous ma presence

[1] *Sonetti e Canzoni*, no. cccxxiii.

[2] *Hecatomphile. . . . Les Fleurs de Poesie Francoyse.*

[3] *Œuvres*, Vol. III, p. 36. Due allowance must, however, be made for the preconceived ideas of Lenglet Dufresnoy, whose dates I have used for this and the other poems referred to.

desire," [1] attempted poetical expression of that purer love touched with imagination to which Petrarch introduced the French poets of the Renaissance. His delicate *Chanson*, "J'ayme le cueur de m'amye," [2] his epigram, *De l'amour chaste*,[3] with its etherealized conclusion "Je l'ayme tant que je ne l'ose aymer," are evidences of this, and his *huitain*, "*Sur la Devise: Non ce que je pense*," [4] strikes a true Petrarchistic note. The more conceited aspect of Petrarchism appears in the early elegy assuring his mistress that he can burn his letter by

> "l'amoureuse flamme
> Que mon las cueur pour voz vertus enflamme."
> —*Œuvres*, Vol. II, p. 37.

For such imagery as this, Marot was undoubtedly more indebted to contemporary Italian Petrarchists than to Petrarch's own poems.

M. Vianey has observed [5] that Marot probably owed his fondness for the *huitain* no less than his use of conventional Italian imagery to the strambottists, especially Tebaldeo, whose temper

[1] *Œuvres*, Vol. II, p. 186. [2] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 190.
[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 38. [4] *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 16.
[5] *Le Pétrarquisme en France au xvi^e siècle*, pp. 45 and 46.

was far nearer to his own than was Petrarch's. Several of the examples adduced by M. Vianey are of an early date; for instance, *A Anne, qu'il regrette*, "a true Sicilian strambotto," *Du partement d'Anne, De son feu, et de celluy qui se print au Bosquet de Ferrare.*[1] But Marot's early work contains many other examples of Italian influence. He describes the sun as shining when he sees his mistress, while when he looks elsewhere, all is black night; he thanks Venus for making him love a mistress so fair that, should Cupid unbandage his eyes, the god would fall in love with her himself, and declares again, that Cupid has exchanged bows with Diana;[2] he represents Cupid as mistaking his lady for Venus,[3] and he makes her the promise of immortality through his verse, so characteristic of Renaissance poetry.[4] To multiply examples were useless. It is clear that Marot in his early compositions sacrificed to the coming poetical fashion.

Saint-Gelais was hardly less prompt than

[1] *Œuvres*, Vol. III, pp. 16, 31, and 60.
[2] *Ibid.*, Vols. III, pp. 84 and 28, and II, p. 180.
[3] *Ibid.*,, Vol. III, p. 44.
[4] *A Anne tencée pour Marot, Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 62.

Marot in drawing inspiration from the same sources; and M. Vianey has noted the extent of his debt.[1] All the examples which that critic cites are of about 1535;[2] so is Saint-Gelais' rendering of Ariosto: *O doulce nuit, O nuict heureuse et belle;*[3] so is an imitation of Bembo's twenty-second Sonnet;[4] and the famous translation from Sannazaro, or from Wyatt's version of Sannazaro,[5] *Voyant ces monts de veue ainsi lointaine*, was written not later than 1540. As early as 1534, some half dozen of Saint-Gelais' poems were, like Marot's *Visions*, printed in the

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 104–107.

[2] *I.e.*, drawn by their editor, Blanchemain, from the MS. *de la Rochetulon*, which he dates 1535. *Œuvres*, Vol. III, p. 1. M. Vianey, *op. cit.*, p. 52, merely remarks that this MS. probably contains the earliest examples of Saint-Gelais' borrowings. In fact, all the instances quoted by him (except those from Sannazaro and Berni) are from that MS.

[3] *Nuict d'Amour*. *Œuvres*, Vol. III, p. 99. *Cf.* Vianey, *op. cit.*, p. 52 and note.

[4] *Œuvres*, Vol. III, p. 84.

[5] *Œuvres*, Vol. I, p. 78. J. M. Berdan, *The Migrations of a Sonnet*, Mod. Lang. Notes, Vol. XXIII, pp. 33–36, suggests that the translation was from Wyatt's as yet unpublished version, basing the supposition on strong internal evidence. His theory makes it the result of a meeting between Wyatt and Saint-Gelais in 1539 or 1540.

Fleurs de Poesie Francoyse, a collection published as a suite to a translation of the *Hecatomphile* of Leon Battista Alberti.[1] The combination is in itself proof of the progressing interest in Italian poetry. The king did not disdain to collaborate in the volume, which contained, interspersed among verses of a purely "Gaulois" type, examples of conventional Petrarchistic imagery and echoes of Petrarch himself, — verbal, as in the refrain of a *Chant Royal*,

"Desbender l'arc ne guerit pas la playe,"[2] —

[1] Eleven of the poems included in it are to be found in Blanchemain's edition of Saint-Gelais, *i.e.* (1) Vol. I, p. 82; (2) *Rondeau*, Vol. I, p. 302; (3 and 4) two *Dixains*, Vol. III, pp. 48 and 49; (5) *Dixain*, Vol. III, p. 37; (6 and 7) two *Huitains*, Vol. III, p. 285; (8 and 9) *Huitains* and *Dixain*, Vol. III, pp. 280 and 281; (10) *Huitain*, Vol. III, pp. 7 and 8; (11) *Dixain*, Vol. III, pp. 2 and 3. Four of these, (nos. 6, 7, 8, and 9) — already claimed by Champollion-Figeac for Francis I — are merely tentatively included; another (1) is positively attributed to Saint-Gelais, as it had been to Francis I.

[2] *Chant Royal d'ung Amant, Hecatomphile*, etc., p. 73. The refrain translates the last line of a sonnet of Petrarch, no. xc of the *Sonnetti e Canzoni*.

"Piaga per allentar d' arco non sana."

The words of the refrain conclude Salel's paraphrase of this sonnet (*cf. infra*), and were probably borrowed

more substantial in the poems entitled: *Le plus perfaict des amans confortant sa Dame malade; Le perfaict des Amans à sa Dame definissant quelle est le vraye Amour,*[1] *Corroboration du ferme propos de la dame;*[2] or the poem which called forth that "propos," *Je n'ause estre content de mon contentement.*[3] The book in fact is one of the first landmarks in the progress of Petrarchism.

Hugues Salel, third of the Petrarchizing trio, may be best described as a purely external imitator of Petrarch. Evidently interested in the Petrarchian manner and subject-matter, he was quite untouched by its spirit. His *Œuvres*, published early in 1540, a very type of the more pagan aspects of the Renaissance, contain, besides a translation and a paraphrase from Petrarch,[4] many a reminiscence of that poet.

from that version. Salel's poems were in circulation for some time before their publication in 1540; and the existence of this quotation in the *Fleurs de Poesie Francoyse* fixes the date of at least one of them. It is, naturally, improbable that the debt was on the other side.

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 89 and 91. Attributed to Francis I by Champollion-Figeac.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 93.

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 92. Attributed to Francis I by Champollion-Figeac.

[4] He translated a sonnet, no. ccxxiv of the *Sonnetti e*

Such is the treatment of the well-worn glove theme,[1] or the promise — made, it is true, only by one of the poet's friends and not by the poet himself — that his mistress, excelling Laura in virtue, shall equal her in fame.[2] This anticipatory commonplace of the French as of the English Renaissance, indicates clearly the preoccupation of Salel's circle with subjects to be found in Petrarch. Salel even begins a *huitain* in the tone of a true disciple of Petrarch:

> "La beaulté du corps n'est que monstre
> De la Vertu qui est en l'ame;"
>
> — *Œuvres*, fol. 52 v.

but the epigrammatic ending is in true "Gaulois" style. Salel, pagan when he philosophizes,[3]

Canzoni (*Tiré de Petrarque*), *Œuvres*, fol. 47 r°, and paraphrased another, no. xc of the *Sonnetti e Canzoni* (*Dixain Tiré de Petrarque*). *Ibid.*, fol. 48 v°, *cf. supra*, p. 268, n. 2.

[1] *Envoyé avecques une paire de gantz*, *Œuvres*, fol. 46 r°. It recalls Petrarch's sonnet, no. cxcix of the *Sonnetti e Canzoni*.

[2] *Claude de Plays, secretaire de Madame la Daulphine, à la Marguerite de Salel.* *Œuvres*, fol. 51 r°.

[3] *Cf. De la misere et inconstance de la vie humaine*, *ibid.*, fol. 21 r° *et seq.*, which concludes:

> "Il sembleroit en suyvant la sentence
> De plusieurs Grecz, que n'avoir print naissance
> Seroit meilleur pour l'homme miserable,
> Ou, estant né en ce monde muable,

sensual when he deals with love, is, in fact, totally unable to reproduce Petrarch's idealism. His inherent predisposition — despite a vein truly poetic — is clearly evidenced by a translation from Pontanus [1] of sentiment more than "natural"; by his "Blasons," *de l'Anneau* and *de l'Espingle;* even by his coarse and cynical *A la Veille Amoureuse,* or his *Souhaits a une Dame Rigoureuse.* [2] He is far better fitted to ape the Italian strambottists than their so-called model; and it is only natural to come upon descriptions of Cupid tormented by Venus, or the lover tormented by Cupid, of the heart betraying the body by letting in love, or Cupid setting up in a lady's breast the forge to sharpen his arrows.[3] There are, besides, complaints of the hardness and coldness of the heart of the poet's mistress, verses on a

> Soudain par mort aller au lieu prospere
> Que tout vivant apres la mort espere."
> — fol. 25 r°.

[1] *Les troys degrez de la misere d'amour tiré de pontan, Œuvres,* fol. 49 v°.

[2] *Œuvres,* fols. 58 r°, 59 r°, 43 r°, 49 v°.

[3] *Cf.,* for these respective conceits, *Chant poetique ouquel Cupido est tourmenté par Venus, ibid.,* fol. 34 r°; *Epistre,* fol. 39 v°; *Du cueur qui a trahy le corps y mettant amour,* fol. 46 v°; *De la gorge d'une damoyselle,* fol. 45 v°.

bracelet, addresses to a sigh, and declarations that the poet would die, but fears that the flame of love will consume him after death.[1] The chief composition of the book, the *Eclogue Marine* on the death of the Dauphin with its musical refrains, "Chantez mes vers, chantez melancolie," and "Chantez mes vers, chantez dueil & tristesse,"[2] is but another evidence of Salel's Italian sympathies.

If Marot, Saint-Gelais, and Salel were the earliest imitators of Petrarch, they were also the poets whom Sainte-Marthe would, naturally, most eagerly emulate. We have seen his feeling for Marot; his admiration for Saint-Gelais, if less abounding, was still marked. He expressed it in the lines:

> "Chascun n'a pas son esprit tant fertile
> Que Sainct Gelays,"
>
> — *P. F.*, p. 52.

and elsewhere describes Saint-Gelais as

> "Chantant des sons de sa sonante Lyre
> Plaisants à tous & utiles à lire."
>
> — *P. F.*, p. 202.

[1] *Cf.*, for these conceits, *Du cueur, ibid.*, fol. 44 v°, and *Huictain*, fol. 53 r°; *Du brasselet*, fol. 50 v°; *Huictain*, fol. 52 r°; *L'amant passioné*, fol. 45 r°.

[2] *Ibid.*, fol. 25 r° *et seq.*

For the substance of one of his happiest imitations of Marot's manner, he was indebted to Saint-Gelais' epigram *A un Gand,* and one of his own epigrams was close enough to the court poet's manner to procure its insertion by a critic like La Monnoye among Saint-Gelais' poems.[1] As for Salel, if he and Sainte-Marthe took a common view of the *Querelle des femmes,*[2]

[1] *Au Seigneur de Parnans, Qu'au bien d'Amour, rien n'est plus nuysant que jouyssance, P. F.*, p. 13. In Saint-Gelais' *Œuvres*, Vol. II, p. 296, it is simply entitled *Autre.* Blanchemain adds a severe note, "Ceci est un pur galimatias." The real title shows it actually to be a somewhat clumsy attempt to express a platonic idea. The last word also of the last line, *diminue,* is changed in Blanchemain's *Saint-Gelais* to *continue,* which completely spoils the sense. *Cf.* p. 319. Blanchemain took the poem from the 1719 edition of Saint-Gelais published by Coustellier, and is authority for the fact that La Monnoye supplied the new material of that edition. *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 39.

[2] *Cf.* Salel:

"O noble Sexe en ce monde produict
Pour conserver nature humaine en estre,
Sexe sans qui l'homme seroit mal duyct,
Bien qu'il se die aucunesfois le maistre,
Que ne ma Dieu & Nature faict naistre
Plein de scavoir pour dignement escripre
Les grandz Vertus que je voy apparoistre
En vos espritz comme je le desire?"

—*Œuvres*, fol. 39 r°.

this was not their only point of sympathy. Sainte-Marthe's rondeau to the older poet, on the subject of his "divise," is full of admiration of his "grand sens" and "science," as of the "prudence" which he had acquired in the school of Apollo his master.[1] Although Salel's poems were but just published, his epigrams and longer poems must have been current for some time, and Sainte-Marthe, no doubt, was familiar with them even before the king ordered them printed.[2] It was probably to Salel that Sainte-Marthe owed the idea of inspiring himself from Ælian for his *Tempé de France*, as had the former for his poem *De la misere & inconstance de la vie humaine*.[3] His tribute of imitation, in fact, was marked enough to confuse contemporaries as to the authorship of certain of Salel's poems, which were credited to Sainte-Marthe.[4]

It was natural, then, that, in what must have been his first attempts at Petrarchism, Sainte-Marthe should follow in the wake of the three

[1] *A Salel, valet de chambre du Roy, Sur sa divise. P. F.*, p. 90; *cf. supra*, p. 241 and n. 3.

[2] *Sensuyvent les epigrammes qu'on a peu recueillir, faictz par ledict Salel. Œuvres*, fol. 45 r°.

[3] *Op. cit.*, fol. 21 r° *et seq.* [4] *Cf. supra*, p. 196, n. 1.

older poets and occupy himself rather with the conceits than with the idealism of Petrarch. When he writes of Cupid's arrows in his mistress' eyes;[1] of the prison of love or the prison of her heart;[2] of Fortune personified and envious of

[1] "Je ne scay point lequel plus me martyre,
Son doulx parler, ou son picquant regard,
De son parler comme enchesné m'attire,
Dedans ses yeulx est Cupido, qui tire
Contre mon cueur, d'Amour le mortel dard."
— *De Madamoiselle Beringue*, *P. F.*, p. 54.

Cf. Petrarch, Sonnets nos. xlvi, cxxxiii, cxliv, cli, clvii of the *Sonnetti e Canzoni*, also no. lxxxvii; Bembo, Sonnet xiii, and Saint-Gelais, Vol. III, pp. 46 and 69, nos. lxxxviii, cxxix. In other respects the epigram may possibly be a reminiscence of Giusto dei Conti, *La Bella Mano*, Sonnet cviii, lines 5 *et seq.*:

"Il bel parlar che sorridendo move,
E tra il vezzoso sguardo i bei sospiri,
Il cor m' infiamman sì, che fra i martiri
Di abbandonarmi ha fatto mille prove."

[2] "Ceste prison, c'est vostre noble Cueur
Lequel du mien vaillamment fut Vainqueur."
— *A Madamoiselle Beringue De leur honneste & irreprehensible Amour*, *P. F.*, p. 147.

"Or maintenant m'est force que je vive
(Quoy vive?) mais languisse sans raison,
Le Corps aux Champs & le Cueur en prison."
— *A la Ville d'Arles en Provence*. *P. F.*, p. 26.

Cf. Petrarch, Sonnet no. lxxxix of *Sonnetti e Canzoni;* Bembo, Sonnet no. xcvi; Seraphino, Sonnet no. x. Also Saint-Gelais, Vol. II, pp. 95 and 99, nos. xix and xxv.

his love;[1] even when he represents the lover as preferring his mistress' will to his own;[2] he is using the commonplaces of Italian Petrarchism which the French poets had already assimilated. When he treats that Petrarchian theme, the lover's inability to express himself in the presence of the beloved,[3] which attracted both

[1] *Contre Fortune, fait au departir de luy & Madamoiselle Beringue*, P. F., p. 52. *Cf.* Petrarch, Sonnets, nos. cclii and cclix of *Sonnetti e Canzoni*, and also Saint-Gelais, *Œuvres*, Vol. III, p. 49.

[2] "Et non pourtant, si les (*i.e.* other lovers) me preferez,
J'accorde & veulx tout ce que vous ferez.
De vostre Amour mon cueur est tant ardent
Qu'avecques vous est en tout accordant.
Ne vueillez donq' aulcun cas qui me plaise,
Ou bien vueillez chose qui me desplaise,
Ce que ne veulx alors bien me plaira.
Ce que je veulx soubdain me desplaira.
Car en tout cas, par consent uniforme
Mon vouloir est au vostre tout conforme."
— *Pour un Gentilhomme à une Dame.* P. F., p. 133.

Cf. Castiglione. *Cortegiano*, Bk. III (p. 27 of Hoby's translation); Seraphino, Sonnet no. cvii, and, among *Sonnetti di dubbia attribuzione*, no. xx; Bembo, Sonnet no. vi; Marot, *Œuvres*, Vol. III, p. 16, and Saint-Gelais, *Œuvres*, Vol. III, p. 73, no. cxxxvi.

[3] *Cf.* Petrarch, *S. e C.*, nos. clxix, clxx and lxxiii (at end), "Solemente quel nodo," etc.; Chariteo, Sonnet no. xcv.

Salel [1] and Saint-Gelais, the very title he chooses is reminiscent of the latter's *douzains* on the subject. Saint-Gelais' epigram begins as follows:

"Le cueur qui fut si longuement troublé,
Ne vous osant descouvrir mon martyre,
Après avoir commencé à le dire
A de mes maux le nombre redoublé." [2]

—*Œuvres*, Vol. II, p. 151.

Sainte-Marthe writes:

A ma Damoiselle Beringue, Quel martyre c'est, brusler d'affection & n'oser parler pour la descouvrir.

"Force d'Amour me veult souvent contraindre
A declarer mon Cueur apertement,
Mais un reffus, (pour honte) tant à craindre,
M'a tousjours fait un grand empeschement.
Mon mal ainsy nourrys couvertement
Dissimulant l'ennuy tant que je puis.
D'aultre costé, du bien que je poursuis

---

[1] "Puis que l'esprit ne peult & langue n'ose,
Je vous supply de vous mesmes entendre
L'ardent desir de celuy qui propose
Tant qu'il vivra vostre esclave se rendre."

—*A Marguerite*, *Œuvres*, fol. 47 v°.

[2] And *cf.* the immediately following poem on the same subject, beginning:

"Mille fois le jour je pense
A vous compter mon martyre;"

Cf. also *Ibid.*, Vols. II, p. 6, and III, p. 71.

Le soubvenir renforce mon martyre.
Veoyez (helas) le tourment ou je suis,
Voulant parler, un seul mot ne puis dire."

— *P. F.*, pp. 75–76.

The poet continues in a second dizain:

A elle mesme, Sur le mesme propos.

" Voulant parler, un seul mot ne puis dire,
Si tresfort est mon Cueur espris d'angoisse,
Le jour & nuict pour mon mal je souspire,
Et ne puis fin trouver à ma tristesse.
Seule pouvez (O Madame & Maistresse)
Mon mal mortel entierement guerir.
Vous plaise donc, (pour Dieu) me secourir,
Et que par vous, santé me soit rendue;
Vostre servant guarderez de perir,
Et luy rendrez la parolle perdue."

— *P. F.*, p. 76.

The element of common sense in the first of these productions, no less than the epigrammatic close of the second, show that Sainte-Marthe had probably got at his Italian models through a French medium. In another place he plainly imitates Marot's manner even when varying a conventional Italian conceit:

D'une Dame à merveilles froide à son Amant.

"Cupido veit une Dame fourrée
Un jour d'hyver & luy dist, helas, belle,
Je suis toute nud, donnez moy la entrée

Pour m'eschauffer. Je le veulx, (respond elle),
Mais mettez bas l'Arc, qu'avez soulz l'ecelle.
L'enfant le fait, puis se fourre dedans.
Ha qu'il fait bon (dist lors) estre céans,
Mais tost apres il vuidda bien la place.
Comment, (fist il) qui dureroit léans?
Le lieu y est plus froid que n'est la Glace."

— *P. F.*, p. 31.

Again, when Sainte-Marthe writes of his love's

"beaulx & plaisantz yeulx,
Son doulx parler, sa soubrainte Face,
Son beau maintien, sa tresperfaicte grace,
Et les Vertuz, qu'on peut en elle veoir,"

— *Ibid.*, p. 32.

the description recalls Petrarch's

"E co l'andar e co'l soave sguardo
S' accordan le dolcissime parole,
Et l' atto mansueto, umile et tardo;"

Sonnetti e Canzoni, Sonnet no. clxv.

but Salel had been beforehand with him describing

"Ton noble esprit de si beau corps couvert,
Ton oeil riant à tous cler & ouvert,
Ton doux accueil, ta faconde elegante."

— *Œuvres*, fol. 42 r°.

Sainte-Marthe twice treats that Petrarchian conceit, universally appropriated by Petrarch's disciples, according to Mr. Sidney Lee,[1] of an

[1] *Elizabethan Sonnets*, Vol. I, p. xli.

address or dialogue in which the poet's heart or eyes are concerned.[1] In both cases it is curious to note Sainte-Marthe anticipates Ronsard[2] in

[1] V. Perrens, *op. cit.*, pp. xiv, xxxiv, xxxv, xxxvii–xxxix, etc.

[2] *Amours*, Book V, no. xxii. Mr. Sidney Lee, in two notes on his sonnet 99, p. 209, and *Life of William Shakespeare*, p. 155, note, names Ronsard alone as thus treating the subject. I have found one earlier instance of it among Renaissance poets, viz. in Tebaldeo:

> "Spesso i or basso e gli occhi ho lassi:
> I' vuo' a mone e dire or i' or mio
> E mesto mi so' tal: ma se ragiono
> Altrove gli occhi vagheggiar non sono.
> I' or ho tenuto sotto i piedi affanno,
> Di sguizzo in sguizzo e drieto fiamma
> E gli occhi miei accieche e stordisce
> La vista, ond' me gli n' incresce.
> E ch' i' sperassi - non fu mai
> Ne posso a ciò in lor far ostacolo
> Loro vie ne e ne gli miei mali
> Vanno e vie e vie e gli miei mali
> Sono certo ch' i' non [illegible]
> Se mai ch' i' [illegible]"
>
> — *Rime*, [illegible], fol. [illegible] ff.

The rest of the sonnet runs somewhat as does the fourteenth sonnet of Ronsard:

> "Dice e che gli [illegible]
> Ne vedi [illegible]
> Augurve che [illegible]
> [illegible]
> [illegible]
> [illegible] Dice [illegible]

making heart and eye the interlocutors. In the dixain, *Du debat de l'œil & du Cueur, voyant la perplexité de luy qui languit en attente,* heart and eye bandy reproaches to this conclusion:

> "Mais, dit le Cueur, toy & moy as surpris,
> Maulvais Garcon, par ton regard vollage,
> Si n'en doibs je (fait l'oeil) estre repris
> Ce que j'ay fait, l'ay fait comme messaige."
> — *P. F.*, p. 23.

The second poem, *Le Cueur reprend l'œil de regard trop vollaige, & le prie de s'en retirer,* is plainly reminiscent of Saint-Gelais' epigram on a similar subject beginning:

> "Cesse mon œil de plus la regarder
> Puisque ton mal procède de son bien."[1]

M. Laumonier, treating of this conceit, notices Sainte-Marthe's *Debat de l'œil et du cœur,* and remarks that it was a subject not uncommon among pre-Ronsardian French poets. He cites an instance from a collection of the fifteenth century, the *Jardin de Plaisance* (pub. 1500), and another from Baude de la Carrière, *cit.* Claude Fauchet (*Œuvres,* ed. of 1610, p. 573), *Ronsard, Poète Lyrique,* p. 487 and notes 2 and 3.

[1] *Œuvres,* Vol. III, p. 48. It has no title beyond its number, xc. It was, however, printed in the *Fleurs de Poesie Francoyse,* p. 80, with the title, *Au mesme propos d'ung Amoureux ung peu marry. Cf.* also *Œuvres,* Vol. III, p. 37.

Sainte-Marthe's dixain follows these traces:

"Ne pourrois tu, mon Œil, un petit t' engarder
Tè getter si souvent sur son luysant visaige?
Plus la regardes, plus tu la veulx regarder,
Et par ton fol regard je suis en une raige.
Je te pry que tu sois dorenavant plus saige
Et que ta legierté n'augmente ma douleur.
Elle est un Parangon, mais quoy, tu n'es pas seur
De l'attirer à toy, ce dangier est à craindre.
Parquoy, pour ne tumber en un plus grand malheur,
N'allumes point le feu que ne pourras estaindre."
— *P. F.*, p. 36.

Saint-Gelais' dixain was published in the *Fleurs de Poesie Francoyse*, with which Sainte-Marthe appears to have been acquainted. The latter's involved and pretentious prose dedication of his poems to the duchesse d'Estampes[1] may even have been modeled upon the execrable style of its *Prologue du disciple de L'archipoète Francoys.*[2] The collection, as we have seen, contained several poems in the more idealistic Petrarchian tone sympathetic to Sainte-Marthe's tendencies; and "le vraye amour," as described by the "Perfaict des Amans," found more than one

[1] *Cf.* p. 562 *et seq.*

[2] *Hecatomphile, . . . Les Fleurs de Poesie Francoyse*, pp. 49–51.

echo in his book of poems. It is clear, however, that, whatever his indebtedness to French interpreters, Sainte-Marthe soon struck the Petrarchistic note without recourse to them. Petrarch's references to the net or snares of love,[1] for example, had been imitated by Saint-Gelais; but when Sainte-Marthe uses this image, he comes nearer to Bembo, who compares his struggles to those of a bird in a net.[2] "Desire," writes Sainte-Marthe:

"A l'environ de moy ses fillets tend,
Ses fillets tend pour m'y poulser & prendre,
M'advertissant, si je veulx y entendre,
Environné par ainsi & surpris,
Evidemment me cognois estre pris.
Par ce moyen, plus ses fillets je lasche,
Plus il me tient, & plus fort il m'attache."
— *A Madamoiselle Beringue, de leur honneste & irreprehensible Amour*, *P. F.*, p. 146.

The eyes of Petrarch's Laura could make night clear, but they also obscured the noonday.[3]

[1] *S. e C.*, Sonnets nos. clxxxi, cc, cclxxi.

[2] Sonnet no. xcvi, and *cf.* Sonnet no. civ.

[3] *S. e C.*, Sonnet no. ccxv. *Cf.* Charitео, *Sestina*, I, l. 12, Vol. II, p. 18. "Et per me il di serino e negra notte," and Maurice Scève, *Blazon du Sourcil, Fleurs de Poesie Francoyse, cit.* Baur, *op. cit.*, p. 39:

"Sourcil qui rend l'air clair, obscur soudain
Quand il froncit par yre ou par desdain."

Marot had, as we have seen, borrowed this image, and he had given it a truly Gaulois turn.[1] Sainte-Marthe uses the figure as the first of a series of conceits which are not found in his French predecessors. He walks in darkness in the clear noonday because of his mistress' glance indeed, but he adds that her sweet utterances are his death warrants and that he is so overcome by her shadow as to lose sense, sight and speech and be incapable of begging mercy. Hence, he concludes, she must have near her "quelque divin umbrage."[2] It was a commonplace with Petrarch and still more with the Petrarchists that the poet was preordained by fate to love his mistress;[3] Sainte-Marthe exclaims:

[1] *Cf. supra*, p. 265.

[2] *A Madamoiselle Beringue, P. F.*, pp. 22 and 23. *Cf.* p. 536. *Cf.*, for the poet's loss of consciousness, Petrarch, no. lxxiii, *S. e C.*

[3] *Cf.* Petrarch, *S. e C.*, nos. lxix, cciii, lxxiii; Bembo, Sonnets nos. xxxi, xcvi, xcix; Seraphino, Sonnets nos. vi, xiii, lxxv, cxiii. Sainte-Marthe is verbally nearer the latter:

"Né mi biasmo de voi, ma de mia sorte
Quel mi guidò a mirar vostra beltade,
Che allor mi tolse el cor de libertate.
Onde convien che in pace el giogo porte."
— Sonnet xiii.

"La liberté qui jadis estoit mienne
Par toy, Belle, est mise en captivité.
Doncques il fault que ton serf je me tienne
Suyvant le Sort de ma nativité.
J'avois longtemps le peril evité,
Mais vaincu suis par fatale ordonnance,
Qui me promet que j'auray allegeance
Par grand doulceur joincte à rigoeur tres rudde.
Et par ainsy j'obtiendray delibvrance
Par mon contraire. O doulce servitude."
— *A Madamoiselle Beringue de la servitude, d'Amour*
P. F., p. 17.

Here the poet may well have been inspired by the opening lines of the *Selva d'Amore* of Lorenzo de' Medici:

"O dolce servitù, che liberasti
Il cor d' ogni servizio basso e vile,
* * * * *
* * * * *
Quant è dolce e beata la Fortuna
Che servo a sì gentil signor (i.e. Amor) mie diede!
Et servo più, ch' alcun, libero e degno
Servendo a tal, il cui servir è regno."
— *Opere*, Vol. II, p. 7.

What looks like even a clearer echo of this passage occurs in the quatrain, *Que par Amour estant en servitude, on pervient à liberté:*

"Servant Amour, serf suis, je le confesse;
Mais libre m'est telle captivité,

Car le servir est une seure addresse
Pour parvenir à toute liberté."
— *P. F.*, p. 74.

Elsewhere Sainte-Marthe yet again repeats the same idea:

"Au Monde suis Libre & serf, tout ensemble,
Serf par le Sort & Libre de Nature
Serf suis d'amour, etc."
— *A Madamoiselle Beringue, De Liberté & Servitude provenante par Amour*, *P. F.*, p. 78.

Petrarch made frequent use of paradoxical antitheses extremely tempting to his imitators.[1] Bembo emulated him with enthusiasm, and it may have been Bembo whom Sainte-Marthe followed in one instance at least. His

"Je vy, je meurs, je ry, je pleure,
En esperant je vy & ry,
Desesperé, transy demeure,
Donq, en mourant, fais pitieux cry,"[2]

suggests, more in arrangement than in actual words, the beginning of Bembo's thirty-sixth Sonnet:

[1] For example, *S. e C.*, Sonnets nos. cxxxiv, clxxviii, clxxxii, cclii.

[2] *En la personne d'un Amant desesperé*, *P. F.*, p. 74. The conceit recurs in the poem *A Madamoiselle de haulteville, Comment Liberté & Servitude (deux contraires) peuvent durer ensemble*, *P. F.*, p. 99.

"Lasso me, ch' ad un tempo e taccio & grido,
Et temo e spero, e mi rallegro e doglio."[1]

He is nearer Petrarch's

"dolce mia pena,
Amaro mio diletto,"
—*S. e C.*, Sonnet no. ccxl.

when he writes,

"Langoreux suis pour fermement aymer,
Mais en langoeur mon Esprit se contente,
Le mal m'est doulx, si m'est grief & amer,
Grief pour l'ennuy, & doulx pour une attente."
— *Sur la devise des brasselets envoyés à une Damoiselle*, *P. F.*, p. 77.[2]

Petrarch declares[3] that the combined emotions of other lovers cannot compare with his; one of Sainte-Marthe's lovers is of the same opinion:

"Duquel (*i.e.* Amour) je suis tenu si fermement
Que je ne saiche avoir leu par hystoire,
Ou sceu par faict evident & notoire,

---

[1] The nearest thing in Petrarch is:

"In dubbio di mi stato, or piango, or canto;
E temo e spero; ed in sospiri e'n rima
Sfogo 'l mio incarco."
—*S. e C.*, Sonnet no. cclii.

[2] *Cf.* also Seraphino, Sonnet (XXI):

"Cosí el tormento un tale abito ha fatto
Dentro al mio cor, che 'l stento li par gioco."

[3] *S. e C.*, Canzone no. lxxii, l. 46 et seq.

Un cueur lequel Amour si fort attise,
Comme le mien est de vous, sans faintise."
— *Pour un Gentilhomme a une Dame*, *P. F.*, p. 134.

A few lines further he adds:

"Impossible est veoir en homme mortel,
De vif Amour un remors qui soit tel."

Petrarch[1] finds consolation in the fact that his mistress is worthy his torments; so does Sainte-Marthe. The following lines conclude a dixain *Delle mesme, & de soy* full of the woes of the lover:

"Et n'ay comfort si non que je poursuys
Une, sans plus, qui vault bien la poursuivre."
— *P. F.*, p. 29.

Petrarch, and Bembo after him, represents Beauty and Chastity as inhabiting the heart of the beloved;[2] Sainte-Marthe thus expresses himself about the duchesse d'Estampes (!):

"Pour sa tresgrande & bien rare Beaulté,
Elle est la floeur entre toutes nommée:
Et tant pleine est de grand Honesteté
Qu'elle est de tous entierement aymée."[3]
— *P. F.*, p. 20.

[1] *S. e C.*, Sonnet no. clxxiv.

[2] Petrarch, *S. e C.*, Sonnet no. ccxcvii; Bembo, Sonnet no. v.

[3] Saint-Gelais also expressed this idea, *Œuvres*, Vol. II, p. 22, no. xxxiv.

Petrarch declares that Laura's virtues are to blame for his love:

"E più 'l fanno i celesti e rari doni
Ch' ha in sè Madonna;"
—*S. e C.*, Sonnet no. ccxxxvi.

Sainte-Marthe chooses a rondeau as the form in which to express the same sentiment. He concludes:

"Je le confesse, que vous ayme,
Mais, si vous aymant j'ay mespris,
Je n'en doibs pource estre repris,
Mais plus tost en aura le blasme
Vostre vertu."
— *A une Dame au nom d'un Gentilhomme*, *P. F.*, p. 85.

Petrarch set a fashion for the poets of the Renaissance by references to Apollo more devout than befit mere allusions to the classical patron of poets.[1] Bembo, for example, developes the idea into a prayer to Phœbus for the recovery of his mistress from illness.[2] It may well have been the recollection of this which suggested Sainte-

[1] "E che 'l nobile ingegno che dal cielo
Per grazia tien' dell' immortale Apollo, . . ."
—*S. e C.*, Canzone no. xxviii, l. 64. And *cf. Epistolae de Rebus Familiaribus*, x, 4.

[2] Sonnet nos. xcviii, and *cf.* Ronsard, *Odes*, Bk. I, 20; *Amours Diverses*, ix.

Marthe's quite sincere prayer, *A Jesu Christ, Supplication pour obtenir guarison à Madamoiselle Beringue estant malade des Fiebvres.*[1] After such a title it needs an appreciation of the lengths to which the Renaissance could carry classical allusion[2] not to be startled at the opening lines:

"Ò Esculape, Ò Dieu de medicine
Souverain Dieu, tresexpert & insigne
Pour tout grand mal de nos Corps deschasser,
Et en santé tout vray bien pourchasser,
Ò d'Apollon seul & eternal Filx
Aux langoureux pour refuge prefixe,
Filx d'Apollon, largiteur de lumiere,
Et composeur de la forme premiere
De tout le monde, en qui tous nous vivons,
Et de qui bien (par ton moyen) avons.
Filx d'une Vierge en tout immaculée
Pour nettoyer Nature maculée.
Ò bon Jesus, etc."

Here Bembo's outline is much elaborated, but other similarity is not lacking. For example, Bembo writes of

[1] *P. F.*, p. 183.

[2] Elsewhere Sainte-Marthe writes:

"Puisque m'aymer, & aymer je vous veulx
Nos deux vouloirs (*au plaisirs de haultes Dieux*)
Ensemble joincts, auront toute puissance."

— *A Mademoiselle Beringue, que leur Amour ne se pourra minuer pour les mesdisants*, *P. F.*, p. 86.

". . . la mia vita,
Che si consuma in lei, nè meco vuole
Sol un di sovrastar, s' ella sen fugge,"

and is matched by Sainte-Marthe's

"Je suis celuy, qui avec le tourment
Ne puis avoir aultre contentement
Que, par sa Mort, une Mort, qui m'est seure."
— *P. F.*, pp. 184–185.

It will be seen that Sainte-Marthe's direct borrowings from Petrarch and Bembo — who among sixteenth century Italians best conveyed his master's spirit — are few in number. The same is probably true of what he took from the more extreme Petrarchists. Whether or not he took his inspiration, even in one instance, directly from Seraphino,[1] in another from Giusto de'

[1] Seraphino, Sonnet no. xlix:

"Mando el ritratto mio qual brami ognora,
Né te admirar se par d' un altro el volto;
Non m' ha el pittor del natural già tolto,
Perché el mio natural teco dimora.
Lassando te, da me fu el spirto fora
E intorno agli occhi toi rimase involto."

Sainte-Marthe:

"Vous me direz, n'estre qu'une semblance.
Et, quoy que soit aulcune vive trace,
Que pour celà n'a pas grand efficace,
D'aultant, que c'est seulement chose mue,

Conti,[1] whether or not there are other traceable sources for his conceits,[2] the Petrarchist influence upon Sainte-Marthe's general manner is beyond question. When he harps, as he continually does, upon "libre captivité" and "captive liberté,"[3] he may indeed have recalled lines of Lorenzo de' Medici's, but he was also repeating a threadbare conceit of the sonneteers. When he regards love as a means to arrive at freedom,[4] or declares, all in one breath, that a pleasant languor causes him life in death; that the more he resists the more helpless he is; that he has offended without guilt and is captive though free; that, without moving,[5] he hastened in search of his bane; that his heart has escaped from his body and bewails its condition with joy; that he flees but cannot escape his distress; and when he ends by apos-

Il est bien vray, mais pour la paincte Face
Parle mon Cueur, qui dans vous se remue."
— *A une Dame, Pour un Gentil homme, qui luy envoyoit sa portraicture*, *P. F.*, p. 33.

[1] *Cf. supra*, p. 275, n. 1.

[2] The search I have been able to make is not exhaustive.

[3] For example, *P. F.*, pp. 17 and 147.

[4] *P. F.*, p. 78.

[5] This idea occurs also in Chariteo's eighteenth Sonnet:

"Per l' aere vo volando, & son portato
Da tempestosi venti & non mi movo."

trophizing the blessed misery which causes that life in death,[1] we recognize the wire-drawn antitheses of the hardened Petrarchist, even though his vehicle of expression be a rondeau. The same influence is patent in the poet's warning to his mistress not to drive him to death, because he will benefit thereby, whereas she will lose the pleasure of his torments;[2] in his representation of Juno, Venus and Pallas striving for the possession of a lady,[3] or in his use of the image of the chase.[4] Again, his question why Cupid is always painted as a child; the explanation that the god establishes himself in youth and lives longer and more hale the stronger he is at first; his picture of Cupid dipping his arrow in a bath

[1] *A Jean Benac, De soy, P. F.*, p. 93. There are certain similarities between this rondeau and Sonnet no. xv of Lorenzo de' Medici, but not enough to point to it with any certainty as anything but one general source among others.

[2] *A une Dame aspre & cruelle à son servant, P. F.*, p. 74. *Cf.* p. 351.

[3] *P. F.*, p. 37. *Cf.* p. 531. In another instance the goddesses dispute the possession of an infant: *Sur la naissance de la fille de Monsieur le Baron d'Entraigues, P. F.*, p. 30.

[4] *Delle mesme* (*i.e.* Beringue) *et de soy, P. F.*, p. 29, and *A une Dame pour un Gentilhomme, P. F.*, p. 190.

of chastity and keeping it still;[1] his surprise that all the water at Vaucluse could not quench Petrarch's love,[2] and conclusion that either the flame was divine and Laura's beauty supernatural, or else that Laura was cruel not to throw the water of Vaucluse upon her lover's flame;[3] and finally Laura's reply that water could not quench this because it was invisible and immortal;[4] — all these things are evidence that Sainte-Marthe is using post-Petrarchean imagery. At the same time, these very conceits contain an ideal element which derives directly from Petrarch himself, and the same element appears in other "conceited" poems. The poet inquires why Venus and Cupid are represented in painting, since love "n'est chose corporelle," and concludes:

> "Donc qu'est ce Amour? (me direz vous la belle)
> Un feu secret, qui sans touche consomme."
> — *A Madamoiselle de Nuilly. Que c'est d'Amour*, *P. F.*, p. 9.

[1] *P. F.*, pp. 71 and 201. *Cf.* pp. 535 and 540.

[2] *Sur la fontaine de Vaucluse pres laquelle jadis habita Petrarche*, *P. F.*, p. 21. *Cf.* p. 535.

[3] *Sur la mesme sentence & de Laure Amye de Petrarch*, *P. F.*, p. 21.

[4] *Dame Laure se defend & monstre, que le feu d'Amour ne s'estaint par industrie humaine*, *P. F.*, p. 22.

Again, he sees a fire which does not burn dry wood and asks Venus the cause. Is not the wood as corporeal as he who burns at a single glance? No, replies Venus, it is not a natural flame, nor yours material:

"Ce n'est ton Corps qui brusle, mais ton Ame."
— *De Beringue s' Amye & de soy*, *P. F.*, p. 14.

This spiritual element which, far more than his conceits, was Petrarch's bequest to the poets of the Renaissance, although many of his most "conceited" disciples neglected it, is constantly observable in Sainte-Marthe's productions. Love has become infused with imagination, and is of the heart rather than of the senses. It is in his interpretation of this view, no less than in his description of the sufferings of the lover,[1] that Sainte-Marthe shows himself a true follower of Petrarch:

"Car en Amour, un Cueur l'aultre reveille,
Et entre Amants delaisse un soubvenir
Pour fermement l'amour entretenir,"—
— *P. F.*, p. 132.

[1] "Si longuement en tel estat demeure
Je veoy ma fin, qui à moy ne se cele."
— *A la Ville d'Arles en Provence. P. F.*, p. 26.

"Car maintenant si pris d'Amour je suis
Q'en tel estat longuement ne puis vivre."
— *Delle mesme & de soy*, *P. F.*, p. 29.

thus he makes one lover express himself:

"A mon advis aussi, en tel affaire
Le bon cueur doibt amplement satisfaire.
Car le seul Cueur est principal motif,
En esmouvant, est du faict attraictif,
En attirant, plus souvent il advient
Qu'heureusement à sa fin il parvient.
Ma fin est bonne, & loyalle, & honneste,
Et tout ainsi que l'honneur admonestre
Le poursuivant son enterprise suivre,"—
—*P. F.*, p. 191.

such are the words he puts into the mouth of another. A lover's duty is to love all ladies, serve only one.[1] The poet admires the goodness no less than the graces of his mistress. He even goes so far as to say:

"Vostre Beaulté en ce n'y a rien fait.
Quoy qu'Oeuvre soit de Nature perfaict,
Oeuvre divin & splendeur Angelique,
Encores moins Desir qui fust lubrique."[2]

The lover becomes the slave of his mistress:

"Non seulement sa personne, Madame,
Mais la moitié de son immortel Ame,

[1] *P. F.*, p. 147.

[2] *A Madamoiselle Beringue, De leur honneste & irreprehensible Amour*, *P. F.*, p. 147.

Pour declarer que n'est point Amour tel
Que de vous deux, car il est immortel."[1]

And here we are upon the traces of Platonism, that Platonism without taking account of which, it has been said, we cannot understand the Renaissance.[2]

[1] Sainte-Marthe says it of Tolet. *A la Dame & bien aymée de M. P. Tolet, Medicin du grand Hospital de Lyon, son singulier Amy, P. F.*, p. 174.

[2] J. B. Fletcher, *Did "Astrophel" love "Stella."* Mod. Phil., Vol. V, p. 257.

CHAPTER II

La Poesie Françoise

Platonic Influences

The doctrine of Platonic love as the Renaissance understood it was perhaps never better expressed than by Giordano Bruno late in the century, when men's thought had had time to form and ripen:

". . . Quantunque un rimagna fisso su una corporal bellezza e culto esterno, può onorevolmente e degnamente trattenersi; pur che de la bellezza materiale, la quale è un raggio e splendor de la forma ed atto spirituale, di cui è vestigio ed ombra, vegna ad inalzarsi a la considerazion e culto, de la divina bellezza, luce e maestade; di maniere che da queste cose visibili vegna a magnificar il core verso quelle che son tanto più eccellenti in sè, e grate a l' animo ripurgato, quanto son piu rimosse de la materia e senso.

Oimè, dirà, se una bellezza umbratile, fosca, corrente, dipinta nella superficie de la materia corporale, tanto mi piace, e tanto mi commove l' affetto, m' imprime nel spirito non so che riverenza di maestade, mi si cattiva, e tanto dolcemente mi lega e mi s' attira, ch' io non trovo cosa, che mi vegna messa avanti da li sensi, che tanto m'appaghe; che sarà di quello che sustanzialmente, originalmente, primitivamente è bello? che sarà de l'anima mia, del' inteletto divino, de la regola de la natura? Conviene dunque, che la contemplazione di questo vestigio di luce mi ammene mediante la ripurgazion de l'animo mio a l' imitazione, conformità e participazione di quella più degna ed alta, in cui me trasforme, ed a cui me unisca: per che son certo, che la natura, che mi ha messa questa bellezza avanti gli occhi, e mi ha dotato di senso interiore, per cui posso argumentar bellezza più profonda ed incomparabilmente maggiore, voglia, ch' io da qua basso vegna promosso a l' altezza ed eminenza di specie più eccelenti. Nè credo, che il mio vero nume, come mi si mostra in vestigio ed imagine, voglia sdegnarsi, che in imagine e vestigio vegna ad onorarlo,

a sacrificargli con questo, ch'il mio core ed affetto sempre sia ordinato, e rimirare piu alto.

* * * * *

. . . L' amor di bellezza corporale a color, che son ben disposti, non solamente non apporta ritardarmento da imprese maggiori, ma più tosto viene ad improntarli l' ale per venire a quelle. . . . E così sempre verrà tentando il spirito eroico, sin tanto che non si veda inalzato a desiderio de la divina bellezza, in sè stessa, senza similitudine, figura, imagine e specie, se sia possibile, e più si sa arrivare a tanto. . . .

* * * * *

Essendo che, come queste basse cose derivano da quelle, ed hanno dipendenza, così da queste si può aver accesso a quelle [più alte], come per propri gradi. Queste [bellezze corporali] se non son dio, son cose divine, sono imagini sue vive, ne le quali non si sente offeso, se si vede adorare."[1]

So complete a conception of a philosophy which played an important part in the Renaissance may be said never to have been attained

[1] *Degl' Eroici Furori*, Pt. II, Dialog. I, Ed. Sonzogno, Milan, p. 7 *et seq.*

in France. There, although Platonism became, from 1549 on, a growing fashion among poets, it lasted less than two decades and came to a sudden conclusion with the later production of the Pléiade, dispelled, it may be, by that firm hold on fact which has distinguished French literature at its best in every period. It is evident that during the few years of its vogue, many of the poets to whom it afforded poetic material failed to conceive of it as a philosophy. "Mais ce qu'il emprunte à Pétrarque," writes M. Émile Faguet of Ronsard, "et connaît bien, et exprime heureusement, c'est, plus humainement, les délicatesses de l'amour pur, respectueux, élevé sans être sublime, et qui est une admiration et une tendresse sans être un desir. . . . C'est je crois le degré de Platonisme où les Français, qui ne mêlent presque jamais aucun mysticisme à leurs sentiments, peuvent atteindre . . ."[1] The Platonic ideal of love as an expression of the search for perfection became attenuated to "honnête amour," which — if the analogy be permitted — made approaches to the sentimentalities of certain poets of our own day, and

[1] *Seizième siècle*, p. 241.

which was sometimes expressed with wonderful charm, as for instance by Corrozet:

"L'amour que chacun te propose
Dont tant d'escritz sont embellis
Proprement ressemble à la Rose,
Car trop poignans sont ses délitz:
Mais l'amour duquel cy tu lis,
Qui en cœur chaste s'enracine,
Ressemble au blanc et tresbeau Lis
Qui croist sans chardon ny espine."
— *Compte du Rossignol, Au lecteur*, fol. Aj v°.

At the time Sainte-Marthe published his *Poesie Francoise* Platonism, or Neo-platonism, had made hardly any impression upon French literature, but everything was ripe for its appearance. No follower of Petrarch could remain unaware of an element at least akin to it in the poetry of his master; and so, even the most artificial Petrarchists, however incapable of actual Platonic feeling, must needs pay it the homage of empty phrase; while poets genuinely responsive to it harmoniously blended Platonism with Petrarchism.[1] Among Petrarch's sixteenth

[1] "Or, il ne faut pas perdre de vue que l'idéal pétrarquiste dérive, pour une large part, de celui du platonisme et que, s'il a pu former, à certains moments, un courant en quelque sorte parallèlle et indépendant, il s'est à

century Italian imitators, Bembo was expressing Neo-platonic ideas only less in his sonnets than he had in the *Asolani;* and the latter work, although not yet translated,[1] must have been current in Lyons at least, as was also probably the case with the *Dialoghi d' Amore* of Léon Hebreo. But Bembo had been made the mouthpiece of an exposition of Platonic love, far more eloquent than any his own works contained, in the *Cortegiano,* translated three years earlier by Jacques Colin. Indeed, considering the vogue of Castiglione's work, and the publication in France, four years before this translation appeared, of Alemanni's poems, all instinct with Platonism, — to mention no more than two vivifying forces, — it is matter for astonishment that this philosophy made no earlier appearance as an influence in French literature. Meanwhile Plato's own works and those of his commentators had for years been becoming more and

d'autres, manifestement confondu avec le premier." A Lefranc, *Le Platonisme et la Litt. en France, loc. cit.,* pp. 21-22.

[1] It was translated in 1545 (*cit.* Brunet without bibliographical details); Leon Hebreo not until 1551 by Pontus de Tyard and, in the same year, by Denys Sauvage.

more accessible to the French learned public. Before 1540, Ficino's translation of the complete works had been already three times published in France, the last time in 1533,[1] although

[1] 1518 (Jean Petit).
1522 (Josse Bade).
1522 (Bade and Petit with collaboration of Gryphe).
Cf. Lefranc, *Le Platonisme et la Littérature en France, loc. cit.*, pp. 6, 7, and 8, which contains also an account of the progress of the publication in France of Plato's works and works *rē* Plato before the close of 1540. The following list indicates the ground covered, apart from the works mentioned *supra:*

Plato's Works.

1520	*Timæus;* Chalcidus' trans.
circ. 1520	*Axiochus;* Latin.
1527	*Cratylus;* Greek.
1532	*Timæus;* Greek.
1533	*Charmides;* Politian's trans.
1536	*Timæus;* Greek.
1536	*Phædo;* Fincino's trans.
1538	*Laws;* Latin.
1539	*Apology for Socrates;* Greek.
1540	*Timæus;* Collated fragments.

Other Authors.

1489	Ficino, *De triplica vita.*
1494	Ficino, Trans. Trismegistes.
1498	Ficino, Trans. Athenagoras and Xenocrates.
1510	Ficino, *Liber de Christiana religione.*
1530	Proclus, Comment. *Timæus.*
1540	Gemistus Plethon, *Comparatio Platonis et Aristotelis;* Greek.

his commentary on the *Banquet* was only translated in 1546 by Jean de la Haye, and the separate dialogue itself only in 1559 by Le Roy. Nor, apparently, was there any separate edition of the *Phædrus* or the *Lysis* within the century. Already in 1511, however, the *Disputationes Camaldulenses* of Landini had been printed by Jean Petit, and the *Doctrina Platonis* of Alcinous appeared in 1531. Finally, to the diffusion of Neo-platonic ideas through Italian sources and of a first-hand knowledge of Plato likely to temper these, and to the enthusiastic imitation of Petrarch, may be added, as an element in the poetic conception of Platonic love, that marked strain of mysticism which still survived from the middle ages.

Nevertheless, before Sainte-Marthe published his *Poesie Francoise* evidences of Platonic ideas among French poets were, as has been indicated, extremely rare if not altogether absent. In his *Tempé de France* Sainte-Marthe pays a tribute to ten of the more important French poets of his time, each of whom he represents as inspired by one of the Muses. Marot, under the auspices of Calliope, heads the list with his

"Plume, de mots & sentences fertille,
Plume, à trouver, & à coucher subtile."
— *P. F.*, pp. 202 & 203.[1]

Next follow, Colin patronized by Clio; Saint-Gelais by Erato; Scève by Thalia; Maisonneuve by Melpomene; Brodeau by Terpsichore; Bouchet by Euterpe; Heroet and Fontaine, "en leur sons une personne unie," by Polyhymnia; while Salel, for what seems an ill-founded reason, is alloted to Urania.[2] However inept this may be as criticism, the list of names is a clue to Sainte-Marthe's admirations and to the poets who would be likely to weigh with him.[3] Now,

[1] *Cf.* p. 541. [2] *Cf.* p. 541 *et seq.*

[3] This list offers interesting points of comparison with one of the year before by Dolet, who mentions the same names with the exception of those of La Maisonneuve (not Heroet) and Bouchet, and with the addition of those of Brodeau the Elder and of a certain *Moyne de Vendosme* (*L'avant naissance de Claude Dolet, cit.* Copley Christie, *op. cit.*, p. 347); with one of three years later by Chappuis who mentions Colin, Brodeau, Macault, La Borderie, Salel and Herberay (*Discours de la Court*, fols. F. iij v° *et seq*); with one of 1542 or 1544 by Paul Angier, "A tresscientifiques Poëtes Marot, Sainct Gelais, Heroët, Salel, Borderie, Rabelais, Seve, Chapuy & autres Poëtes, Paul Angier leur humble disciple Salut." (*L'experience de Maistre Paul Angier* etc. *Le mespris de la Cour* etc. (ed. 1544, fol. [Hv] v°; and finally with Sibilet's continual harping upon the names of Marot, Saint-Gelais, Salel, Heroet and Scève. (*Art Poétique, passim.*)

not one of these poets was seriously influenced by Platonism before this date. Marot has, it is true, an early ballade, in which the reader might suspect its presence, the *Chant de May et de vertu* where "vertu" is the beloved,[1] but this is merely a reminiscence of the comparison of human and divine love common in earlier poetry and present, for example, in his own youthful description of "Ferme Amour" in the *Temple de Cupido*.[2] Marot's real homage to the Platonic ideal, the sonnet beginning *Retirez vous, bestiaulx eshontez*, is of much later date.[3] Colin, the very translator of the *Cortegiano*, seems to have been scarcely at all influenced by its spirit in his own views, if we judge by his *Epistre a une dame* indignantly advocating the rights of "natural" love;[4] and if Saint-Gelais, — the

[1] *Œuvres*, Vol. II, p. 102. [2] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 23.

[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 116. It is among the *Pieces ajoutées aux œuvres de Marot après sa mort.*

[4] Published as *Epistre de complainte à une qui a laissé son Amy*, in Marot's *Adolescence Clementine*, 1535, as *Epistre Amoureuse*, in the *Opuscules d'Amour*, 1542, it reappears as *Epistre a une Dame par ledist I. C.*, following his *Proces d'Ajax et d'Ulixes* in *Le livre de plusieurs pieces*, 1548, fol. 99 v°. *Cf.* Bourrilly, *Jacques Colin*, p. 56, note.

utmost stretch of whose effort in the direction of Platonism before 1540 is a reference to the "beautez angéliques" and "biens de l'immortalité" possessed by his mistress[1] — begins a ballade with a reference to love's pursuit of perfection, it is that he may bring the idea to a humorous conclusion:

> "Qui dira donc variable un qui fait
> De divers biens prudent élection?
> L'abeille prend, pour venir à son faict
> De maintes fleurs douce refection;" etc.[2]
>
> — *Œuvres*, Vol. II, p. 4.

It is not until 1554, when Platonism had flooded French literature, that the latter writes of the "feu celeste" and of

> "bas desire, qui empesche et retarde
> Le bien supreme où la vertu regarde."[3]

Scève, one of the earliest exponents of Petrarchism infused with Neo-platonism, had as yet pub-

[1] *Œuvres*, Vol. III, p. 96. Circ. 1535 (MS. La Rochetulon).

[2] It should be observed that the date of this poem remains uncertain. It was published in the *Œuvres* of 1547.

[3] *Pour la partie qui fut faite en armes aux nopces du Marquis d'Albeuf à Blois, le troisieme jour de fevrier, 1554*, etc., *Œuvres*, Vol. I, p. 173.

lished in verse only his *Blasons* in the *Fleurs de Poesie Francoyse*, and his eclogue, *Arion*, on the death of the Dauphin; La Maisonneuve is an almost unknown poet: of his scanty remains all that was published before this date is an eight-lined Latin epigram of more than doubtful attribution;[1] and Brodeau's slight volume of religious verse, *Les Louanges de Jesus nostre Saulveur*, was issued only after his death, which occurred in the very month Sainte-Marthe published his *Poesie Francoise*. Whatever poetic effusions may have placed Victor Brodeau "entre les poetes Francoys treseloquents"[2] have not

[1] Jean d'Aubusson de la Maisonneuve, not to be confounded with Heroet, contributed several poems to a volume of Habert's, *La Harangue de la Deesse Astree* (1556). After Habert's productions follows a sonnet, *De l'escriture et de l'art d'Imprimerie par Jean de la Maisonneuve* (fol. 9, viij v°), and all the ensuing *Sentences morales & epigrammes* are attributed to "le mesme Autheur." His other works are: *Colloque Social de paix, justice, misericorde & verité . . .* Paris, 1559; *Discours sur le . . . Recueil fait par les Vénitiens au Card. de Lorraine*, Paris, 1556; *Huictains Poëtiques . . .* Paris, 1561; *L'Adieu des neuf Muses*, Paris, 1558; and a *Déploration sur le tres: pas de . . . François le Picart*, included in Hilarion de Costés *Parfait Ecclésiastique*. *Cf.* La Croix du Maine and Du Verdier, *Bibs. francoises*.

[2] *Cf.* at end of his book: "Maistre Victor brodeau, natif

survived.[1] As for the interminable Bouchet, if he showed himself a stout defender of the weaker sex,[2] it was not as a Platonist, and, if he distinguishes between "folle amour" and "saincte amour," he means by the latter simply conjugal love:

> ". . . celle honneste amour
> Que lhomme & femme ont en leur marriage,
> * * * * *
> Ceste amour est la figure & limage
> De celle amour qua Jesus a leglise, etc."
> — *Les angoysses & remedes damours*, p. 70.

Bouchet shows himself, in fact, a frank exponent of mediæval ideas in his frequent comparison of human and divine love, — a common theme among religious versifiers before the Renaissance. The publication of Heroet's *chef d'œuvre, La par-*

de Tours, entre les Poetes Francoys treseloquent & autheur de ce present oeuvre est decedé de ceste vie en laultre en moys de Septembre Lan mil cinq cens quarente."

[1] A rondeau of his, *Response par Victor Brodeau au precedent*, is preserved in Marot's works (Vol. II, p. 163); his translation of a couplet by Meleager and of an *Elegie du semi-dieu Faunus* are included in Sainte-Gelais' works (Vol. II, p. 12) and in the *Rimes* of Pernette de Guillet (1856, p. 128), respectively. *Cit.* Tilley, *Lit. of the French Renaissance*, Vol. I, p. 86, n. 2.

[2] In his *Jugement poetique de l'honneur feminin.*

faite Amye, which was to set forth the new Platonism with conviction and charm, "petit œuvre mais qui en sa petitesse surmontait les gros ouvrages de plusieurs," [1] was still to come;[2] Fontaine, although he had already championed *Cupido* against *Argent*,[3] had given no evidence whatever of being influenced by Platonism;[4] and

[1] Pasquier, *Recherches de la France, Œuvres*, p. 701.

[2] There were four eds. in 1542, and the poem was frequently reprinted.

[3] *La Victoire et Triumphe d'Argent contre Cupido dieu d'Amour*, etc., fol. Bij v°.

[4] The history of Fontaine's later conversion to that point of view has its interest. In 1541 or 1542 he took part in that controversy to which Heroet's *Parfaite Amye* was the most notable contribution. His *Contramye de Court*, espousing the cause of ideal love, undertakes to confute point by point La Borderie's satire, *L'Amye de court*. Its Platonism, however, is far from being sustained as is that of Heroet's poem. Fontaine's next publication, *La Fontaine d'Amour* of 1544, which drew Du Bellay's fire, marks an abrupt revulsion from Platonism. It is filled with Petrarchistic conceits of the most contorted variety, undoubtedly the harvest of recent Italian travels, of which a good example is afforded by the lines, imitated from Sannazaro:

> "De Amour qui fait feu et eau,
> Je suis le Nil & suis le mont Etna."
>
> — fol. Ij v°.

On the other hand, its resolute avoidance of Platonic sentiment, its "natural," even cynical, treatment of love,

Salel, obtuse even to the more ideal aspects of Petrarchism, was naturally entirely out of sympathy with Platonism.

Sainte-Marthe's list of poets leaves one or two, of a certain importance in their time, unaccounted for. In 1537 Eustorg de Beaulieu had published his *Divers Rapports* which, though a graceful feeling for nature [1] redeems its pessimism, prolixity, and occasional coarseness, shows no trace of ideality in love. If the poet indites a *Ballade à la louange du sexe feminin*, he follows it with another *A l'opposite de la precedente*.[2] His poems to women are completely commonplace, now and then touched with humor. His

are probably a protest against the ecstatic flights of Scève's just published *Délie* of which Fontaine justly says:

> "Certes, la difficulté
> Le grand plaisir en a osté.
> Brief ilz ne quierent un Lecteur,
> Mais la commune autorité
> Dist qu'ilz requierent un Docteur."
>
> — fol. Miiij v°.

Fontaine's next essay of interest in this connection was *Les Ruisseaux de Fontaine* of 1555, and here he finally appears as the ardent convert and exponent of Platonism.

[1] *Cf.* the rondeau, *En la forest* (*op. cit.*, ed. 1544, fol. Dj. r° & v°).

[2] *Ibid.*, fol. E, iiij, v°.

highest flight is a declaration of faithful attachment, and if he rebukes sensual love, it is on practical grounds:

> "Fy, de Venus et de son passetemps,
> Et fy de ceulx qu'elle tient en sa cage,
> Car trop souvent leur tombe le plumage,
> Dont j'en ay veu plusieurs de mal contens."

François Habert had, before this date, dealt merely with sensual love,[1] and, even as late as 1551, when he published, with his translation of Beroald's *Histoire de Titus & Giseppus*, his own *Le nouveau Cupido* or *Les quatres Amours*, his "Amour honorable," like Bouchet's, is conjugal love, his "nouveau Cupido" a conjugal Cupid. Jean Rus, in poems published about this time,[2] shows faint signs of Petrarchism but is quite without idealism; while Jean Leblond, whose poems were published in 1536, makes a curious approach to Petrarchistic exaggeration, his effusions even exhibiting a misleading resemblance to a Platonism by which he was wholly uninfluenced.[3] La Borderie, the earliest opponent

[1] In his *Epistres Cupidinesques*, etc.

[2] Republished by Tamizey de Larroque, 1875.

[3] *Cf. Le printemps de l'humble esperant*, fols. Evj & Fij.

of Platonism, had not as yet published even his dull *Voyage de Constantinople;*[1] Chappuis' equally commonplace *Discours de la Court* had not seen the light,[2] and his *Panygirique recité au . . . roy Francoys* (1538), his *Complainte de Mars* (1539?) and the eclogue on the battle of Pavia, if it be his,[3] contribute nothing to the question. The graceful poet, Almanaque Papillon did not publish his *Nouvel Amour* until 1543,[4] when Platonic doctrines needed a defender. Bonaventure Des Periers, of more weight as a poet, was soon to render important services to Platonism by his translation of the *Lysis*, published with his collected works in 1544. At the moment, however, his published work consisted of a translation of the *Andria*, and that cause of scandal the *Cymbalum Mundi*,[5] although many of the poems published after his death

[1] *Le discours du voyage de Constantinople*, etc. Lyons, 1542.

[2] Paris, 1543.

[3] *Cf.* Guiffrey, ed. Marot, Vol. II, p. 493, note.

[4] First published, together with certain *dixains* by Sainte-Marthe, with Leonique's *Pourquoy d'Amour*, in 1543 and, in the same year, as a separate volume at Rouen.

[5] Both of 1537.

by Antoine de Moulin must have been already current. Finally, Jacques Peletier, deeply influenced by Marguerite of Navarre, and more than once claimed as the true precursor of the Pléiade, was but just turning his thoughts to verse.[1]

Sainte-Marthe, then, struck a new note when he wrote:

"Amour n'est rien que bonne volunté
Signifiante entiere affection,
Amour à Bien est tousjours apresté,
Amour aussi a ses fins arresté
De pervenir à la perfection.
Amour pretend une conjunction
Individue, & par ainsi honneste,
Or ne peut donq estre Amour deshonneste."[2]

— *Que Amour ne pourroit estre deshonneste, P. F.*, p. 10.

[1] *Cf.* P. Laumonier, *Œuvres Poetiques de Jacques Peletier du Mans*, pp. xi and xii and p. 148. Mr. Laumonier calls Peletier already a poet in (*circ.*) 1537, but does not suggest that he was so at that time in any serious sense.

[2] *Cf.* Bembo:

"Amour e graziosa e dolce voglia,
Che i pui selvaggi e piu feroci affrena,
Amor d'ogni viltà l' anime spoglia," etc.

Stanze recitate . . . la sera del Carnassale, MDVII, *Opere*, Vol. II, p. 115. Professor Lefranc quotes Sainte-Marthe's lines as an example of the similarity of tone between

This was more than "honnête amour": it was an attempt to express the Platonic aspiration towards perfection. Sainte-Marthe's Platonism — vaguely conceived and awkwardly uttered — expresses itself again in his celebration of temperance in love:

> "Qui dit Amour estre plein de langoeur,
> Il ne cognoist que c'est de bien aymer.
> Car, quoy que joye y soit avec douleur,
> Et par celà le goust on trouve amer,
> Nous ne pouvons Amour à droict blasmer,
> Aultre cas n'est que nostre Intemperance.
> Plus nous aymons, & plus voulons aymer,
> Aymer debvons avecques Temperance."

— *L'amertune qui est en Amour, provenir de nostre faulte.* *P. F.*, p. 61.

However, it was not the doctrine of temperance in love, but that of its spiritual and immortal nature, which the poetical Platonists of the Renaissance chiefly made their own. This was the true key-note of the Platonic movement, and Sainte-Marthe's verse abounds in variations on this theme. He writes, for example, to Claveyson on the subject of their mutual affection:

his Platonic utterances and those of Marguerite of Navarre. *Marguerite de Navarre et le Platonism de la Renaissance, loc. cit.*, p. 754, note 3.

"Frere, qui dit Amour estre immortel,
A mon advis a bien touché au poinct.
La raison est, car s'il estoit mortel,
Seroit au Corps, & non à l'Esprit joinct.
Or, le Corps meurt, mais l'Esprit ne meurt point,
L'Esprit ne meurt, ne donc l'Amour aussy.
Et oultre plus, je dy, que tout ainsy
Que nostre Esprit en toutes parts s'empare,
Si fait l'Amour, & concludz par cecy
Que le depart des Corps ne nous separe."
— *Au Seigneur de Parnans. Quoy que deux Amys se separent l'un de l'aultre, que, toutefoy, sont tousjours presents.* *P. F.*, p. 35.

There is no mistaking the Platonic origin of a sentiment like this uttered in the first half of the sixteenth century. Sainte-Marthe expresses it even more vigorously in lines addressed to the woman of his love, for example, in the poem, *A Madamoiselle Beringue, Que son Amour est immortel.* Here he appears to insist consciously upon the breach between the older treament of love-themes and his own. Laments on the fleeting nature of love, catalogues of lovers dead, are not comprised in his poetical repertory. His love, he repeats it, is immortal:

"On veult scavoir si je suis amoureux,
Je dy qu'ouy, & qu'aymer je veulx bien.

Puis on me dit que je suis malheureux,
Et que je doibs penser en moy combien
Pour aymer Corps, lequel ne dure rien,
Et les Amours, & Amoureux sont morts.
Par ce moyen, ce leur responds je lors,
Je suis heureux. Mon Amour n'est point tel,
J'ayme d'Esprit & l'Esprit, non le Corps,
Par ainsi est mon Amour immortel."

— *P. F.*, p. 58.

The futility and the sadness of attempting to satisfy desire with mortal things was a favorite theme with the Neo-platonists, lending itself as it did easily to paradox, — especially in fine distinctions between desire and love. "Desiderio è affeto voluntario dell' essere ò d'havere la cosa stimata buona che manca; l'amore è effetto voluntario di fruire con unione la cosa stimata buona," ran the definition of Leon Hebreo;[1] and, only three years before Sainte-Marthe wrote, Colin had put into French Castiglione's reflections on the subject: "car des incontinent quilz sont arrivez a la fin desiree, ou que non seullement ilz sentent ennuy & fascherie mais aussi prennent hayne contre la chose aymée quasi comme se repentant l'appetit de son erreur

[1] *Dialoghi di amore*, p. 6.

et recognoissant le mescompte a luy faict par les faulx jugements du sentiment par ou il a creu que le mal soit bien, ou quilz demeurent au mesmes desir et cupidite comme ceulx qui ne sont point veritablement arrivez au but qui (*sic*) cherchoient," etc.[1] The paradoxical view was well expressed by Bembo:

". . . quant è il peggio assai sovente
De quel che piace, aver alcuna parte;"[2]
— Sonnet no. xl.

and it was probably Bembo that Sainte-Marthe echoed in his dixain to the Seigneur de Parnans:

Qu'au bien d'Amour, rien n'est plus nuysant que jouyssance.

" Rien n'est plus cher que cela qu'on desire,
Car moins on l'a, plus on y est ardent:
Lors qu'on ne peut à son soubhait souffire,
Le desir croist plus fort en attendant.
Quiconques est de jouir pretendant,
Par un espoir à demy se contente:
Mais s'il advient que Fortune presente
Contentement de la joye incogneue,
En jouissant du fruict de son attente,
Le desir cesse, & l'Amour diminue."[3]
— *P. F.*, p. 13.

[1] *Le Courtisan*, fol. 218 v°.

[2] The second edition of the *Rime* had been published in Venice in 1535.

[3] *Cf. supra*, p. 273.

The contrast between desire and love was not the only tenet of Platonism which its votaries could push to extreme and paradoxical conclusions; and Sainte-Marthe's ingenuity in this regard proves him a true Neo-platonist. He applauds, for instance, in Tolet's mistress, a love so pure that it could entertain a thousand lovers:

"Ce n'est Amour qui fol plaisir poursuive,
Ce n'est Amour d'ou reprise s'ensuive,
C'est un Amour que le tien, si bien mis
Qu'entretenir il pourroit mille Amys.
C'est un Amour avecques raison ronde,
C'est un Amour lequel sur Dieu se fonde."

He grows more ingeniously transcendental as he proceeds, mingling his Platonism with perverse Petrarchistic conceits:

"Et nonobstant, contentes ton desir,
Plaisir prenant, pour fuir le plaisir.
Fuiant plaisir, lequel nous est visible,
Et choisissant un plaisir invisible,
Un plaisir donq au dedans actuel,
Et n'estant rien sinon spirituel.
Et par ce poinct, il nous donne à cognoistre,
Qu'en decroissant incessamment veult croistre.
Et decroissant de cest vanité,
De plus en plus croist à eternité."

—*A la Dame & bien aymée de M. P. Tolet, Medicin du grand Hospital de Loyn, son singulier Amy.* *P. F.*, pp. 174 and 175.

Sainte-Marthe does not, however, always maintain himself at this Platonic level, nor, it may be added, sink to these Petrarchistic depths. He is nearer commonplace *honnete amour* when, in his prayer for Beringue's recovery, he sets forth the nature of their love:[1]

"Tu scays, Seigneur (car ainsi l'as permis)
L'Amour qui s'est dedans nos deux cueurs mis,
Amour louable, Amour sainct & honneste,
Et Amour tel que ton uueil admonneste," etc.;
—*P. F.*, p. 185.

nearer mere Petrarchism in his dixain *Du siege d'Amour & que ne peut estre separé du Cueur;*[2] but even in such lines as these there is a suggestion of a more definitely ideal influence.

In spite of occasional lapses, the poems and passages quoted sufficiently indicate the usual trend of Sainte-Marthe's ideas, especially when taken in conjunction with the insistence — in the poems already quoted of which Laura and Petrarch are the subject — on the supernatural nature of beauty and the immortal quality of love, and with such other symptoms of Platonic influence as stress on the hidden signifi-

[1] *Cf. supra*, pp. 67, 289 *et seq.* [2] *Cf.* p. 536 *et seq.*

cance of names,[1] reference to beauty as the incitement to desire,[2] acknowledgment of love or friendship as the source of all advantages:

"Ce bien (Monsieur) n'est sinon Amytié
Qui entretient le Monde de moitié.
Quoy de moitié? mais (ainsy qu'ont escrit
Tous bons Autheurs de scavoir & d'esprit)
Bien sans lequel du Monde la machine
Seroit bien tost renversée en ruine.
Car sans Amour, il n'est possible veoir,
Chose qui soit, venir à son debvoir.
Sans Amytié, nobles chasteaulx & villes,
Tantost seroyent desertes et trop viles,
Sans Amytié, il n'est Duc, Roy, ou Prince,
Qui deuement regentast sa Province.
Sans Amytié, auroit disjunction,
Que nous veoyons grande conjunction,
Sans Amytié, (pour brefvement finir)
Verrions tantost le Monde definir."

—*A noble & puissant Seigneur, Monsieur Antoine de Muillion, Baron de Bressieux, frere du susdict Seigneur de S. Pierre*, P. F., p. 171.

And the reader must also consider a certain bias, even in the religious poems, which can only be called Platonic, showing itself, for example, in a

[1] *Cf. infra*, p. 398 *et seq.*

[2] *Cf. Sur la contention qu'avoyent troys Gentilhommes ascavoir, son doibt plus aymer, ou pour Richesse, ou pour Beaulté, ou pour Prudence. Pour celuy qui choisissoit Venus, signifiante Beaulté*, P. F., p. 38.

constant concern with "le souverain bien," "le bien eternel," "le bien de Dieu."

And if it is clear that Sainte-Marthe was, even so early as 1540, deeply influenced by Platonism, the motive force which must have turned his thought in that direction is not far to seek. His treatment of "le souverain bien," for example, considered in connection with the tone of his religious poems in general, affords a clue to the source of his immediate inspiration. It is clearly not the result only of a first-hand study of Plato, whatever acquaintance with Plato he may show. Calvin had taken pains to expound this particular phrase,[1] and no doubt his interpretation influenced Sainte-Marthe; but Sainte-Marthe's religious poems, and especially the manner in which he treats this constantly recurring expression, contain an emotional element which did not derive from Calvin, but was almost certainly an echo of Marguerite of Navarre. She, for her part, no doubt owed her view of the "souverain bien" in the first instance to Calvin; but, if for her, as for him, the greatest good

[1] *Inst. de la Relig. Chrêt.*, Liv. I, ch. III, parag. 3; Liv. III, ch. XXV, parag. 2.

discussed by Plato could only be union with God, resolved itself in short into God, her treatment of the subject was as far as possible removed from Calvin's taste. She writes to the abbess of Fontevrault:

"Car il faut bien scavoir de quel lien
Deux cueurs en ung sont au souverain Bien
Parfaictement adjoinctz sans departir;"
— *Dernières Poésies*, p. 29.

and conceives of man as

"Uny au Tout et au souverain Bien
Pour estre fait aveques Jesus Rien."
— *Les Prisons*, *D. P.*, p. 296.

Sainte-Marthe echoes the phrase in the same sense:

"Le bien mondain n'a de duration
Le bien de Dieu est bien incomparable."
— *P. F.*, p. 96.

and again:

"La Mort ma apporté de mes maulx delibvrance,
Et du bien eternel desiré recouvrance."
— *P. F.*, p. 216.

Elsewhere, starting with Plato's dictum that wisdom is the true good, he arrives at the Queen of Navarre's conclusion:

"C'est donc thresor infiny, que Saigesse,
C'est un thresor qui tousjours croist sans cesse,
Et vray thresor, de qui vray bien s'ensuit,
Car en tous lieux son possesseur il suit.
Mais en cecy convient adviser, comme
Saige quelcun par Saigesse lon nomme;
Car je n'entends celle la des humains,
Ausquelz la vray eschappée est des mains.
Saigesse dy de DIEU la cognoissance,
Laquelle fait de tout bien accroissance.
Qui tant bonne est, qu'en tout temps & tout lieu,
Elle maintient pour souverain Bien, DIEU.
Souverain Bien, car a jamais il dure.
Et ne permet qu'aulcun Mal on endure." [1]

— *P. F.*, p. 221.

But it is not merely for a single idea that Sainte-Marthe shows himself debtor to the Queen of Navarre. The similarity of spirit of the religious poems to that of many of the poems of Marguerite is striking. Now it has been convinc-

[1] There is secondary evidence that Sainte-Marthe had read the *Philebus*. In the course of that dialogue Socrates says: "For play is sometimes, Protarchus, a remission from serious study" (xxx E). This was probably the origin of Sainte-Marthe's "A l'imitation de l'Archer qui son Arc desbende pour à meillieur exercice le reserver, souloit communement Socrates de sa roidde & severe Philosophie à jeux pueriles se descendre." *Epistre . . . À Madame la duchesse d'Estampes*, *P. F.*, p. 3.

ingly shown that the Queen of Navarre's attention was drawn to the Platonic doctrines of love precisely in 1540, and that it was she who must have been the center of a movement as abrupt as it was marked.[1] If it was not until years later that her published poems[2] revealed in some measure to a larger public the queen's attitude towards the deepest problems of life, this attitude was probably made clear to her intimates and adherents by the circulation in manuscript of works composed about this time. *La Coche* belongs to the year 1540, and so in all likelihood do other characteristic poems, such as *Le triomphe de l'Agneau*, the *Chansons Spirituelles*, and the pieces comprised between pages 342 and 382 of the *Dernières poésies*,[3] — and all these poems con-

[1] A. Lefranc, *Le Platonisme et la Littérature*, etc., *loc. cit.* pp. 8–12; *Marguerite de Navarre et le Platonisme de la Renaissance*, *loc. cit.*, Vol. LVIII, pp. 259-260; Vol. LIX, pp. 713–715.

[2] *Les Marguerites de la Marguerite* were published in 1547. Much of her most characteristic work, however, was not published until our own day. *Les Dernières Poésies de Marguerite de Navarre publiées . . . par Abel Lefranc*, Paris, 1896.

[3] Such is M. Lefranc's opinion, *Marguerite de Navarre et le Platonisme de la Ren.*, *loc. cit.*, Vol. LIX, p. 716. F. Frank, *Marguerites de la Marguerite*, Vol. I, p. xcj,

vey in greater or less degree Marguerite's view of Platonism. Aspiration towards the divine was the informing spirit of this as of her later work. Love of the creature was to her but a stage towards union with the divine; and she looked back from this end to earthly love as its means, whereas the poets who may be considered as her disciples, Des Periers, Heroet, Scève, Corrozet, dwelt rather upon the idealization of earthly as the inspiration to heavenly love.[1] And it was not only by the perusal of her manuscript poems that these and other of Marguerite's earliest proselytes to Platonic views were convinced. It has been shown[2] that her preferred instrument for the spread of her ideas among the enlightened of her *entourage* was personal communication, and that it was in

had assigned 1532 as the date of *Le Debat d'Amour, i.e., La Coche.*

[1] For a discussion of Marguerite of Navarre's philosophy and its diffusion, and of her relations with these poets, *cf.* the two articles of Professor Lefranc *cit. supra*, especially *Marguerite de Navarre et le Platonisme de la Ren., loc. cit.*, Vols. LVIII, pp. 275 *et seq.* and LIX, pp. 732 and 749 *et seq.*, and *Le Platonisme et la littérature*, etc., *loc. cit.*, pp. 10–19 and 21–23.

[2] *Cf. ibid.*

conversation with her that the new Platonic doctrines were formulated and their influence conveyed to an ever widening circle. In view of what has been said, a comparison of Marguerite's poems with those of Sainte-Marthe published about the time of her conversion to Platonism might be expected to show that the latter came within the radius of this influence; and such, whether or not he was at the moment in direct communication with the queen whose servant he had once been and was to be again, is clearly the case.

Sainte-Marthe had already plainly come under the influence of the poems published by the queen some seven years earlier. These, the *Miroir de l'Ame Pecheresse;* the *Discord estant en l'homme par la contrarieté de l'Esprit et de la Chair et paix par vie spirituelle;* and the *Oraison à nostre Seigneur Jesus Christ*[1] already contained

[1] They were published together in 1533 by Simon du Bois at Alençon, and, the same year, by Augereau at Paris. These were the second and third editions of the *Miroir de l'Ame Pecheresse.* F. Frank's admirable bibliography (*Marguerites de la Marguerite,* Vol. I, pp. lxxxvi-xc) does not state whether the two other poems were included with the *Miroir* in the first edition of 1531: *Le Miroir de lame pecheresse, ouquel elle recognoist ses faultes*

indications of a mystic spirituality which has certain affinities with the Neo-platonic ideal of love, and which, in fact, remained always an integral part of the Queen of Navarre's expression of it, as in references to Christ as the true lover, to the beatitude of possessing Him, and to the longing of the worshiper to be absorbed and blinded by the light of the divinity.[1] Sainte-Marthe took pains to express his admiration of these among Marguerite's other works: "si, toute contention sophistique mise à part, & dépouillées les malvaises affections qui pervertissent le jugement de l'esprit, on vient à lire le *Mirouer de l'ame pécheresse, le Triumphe de l'Aigneau, les Comédies, les Odes, les Oraisons* & aultres œuvres par elle escripts en langue & poësie Françoise, je dy lire avec un jugement arresté, nous conviendrons ensemble qu'onc n'y en eut une des

et pechez, aussi ses graces et benefices a elle faitez p. Jesuchrist son epoux. La Marguerite tres noble et precieuse sest proposee a ceulx qui de bon cueur la cherchoient. A Alençon, chez maistre Simon du bois MCXXXI. The second edition is (presumably) a reprint of the first. *Cf. Margs. de la Marg.*, Vol. I, pp. 147 and 148.

[1] *Cf. Le Miroir de l'Ame Pecheresse. Margs. de la Marg.*, Vol. I, pp. 48, 64, and 68, and *Oraison à nostre Seigneur Jesus Christ*, ibid., p. 144.

anciennes, tant soit elle estimée par les doctes hommes, qui merite d'estre comparée avec elle."[1] Traces of the influence of these early poems upon the *Poesie Francoise* are, as might be expected, easy to find. The long religious epistle, *A Dieu, Confession de son infirmite & Invocation de sa Grace*, not only opens, like the *Oraison à nostre Seigneur*, with an acknowledgment of predestination, and closes, like it, with a declaration of faith, but shares with it common sentiments, such as the suppliant's unworthiness even to speak of God's greatness, his sins too many to be named, his trust in the promises and fatherhood of God and the like.[2] The impress upon the same poem of the *Miroir de l'Ame Pecheresse* is also evident, especially in an appeal to Christ as intercessor, where the same exultant gratitude finds vent in similar ten-syllabled flat rhymes.[3] Again, Sainte-Marthe's impassioned prayer for Mademoiselle Beringue's recovery catches not only the tone, but some of the very tricks of the *Miroir* with its characteristic invocations: "O mon vray Dieu," "O vray

[1] *Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, pp. 79 and 80.

[2] Cf. *Margs. de la Marg.*, Vol. I, pp. 133, 145, 135, 138, 140, and *P. F.*, pp. 113, 119, 115, 116, and 118.

[3] *Margs. de la Marg.*, Vol. I, p. 50; *P. F.*, p. 118.

amant, de Charité la source," and "O doux Jesus vous ay je retrouvé?".[1] "O doulx Seigneur," "O vigilant & amoureux pasteur," "O bon Jesus par qui Grace est infuse," are Sainte-Marthe's echoes,[2] the more noticeable that each, as in the *Miroir*, stands at the beginning of a line of similar meter. It was, however, the *Discord estant en l'homme par la Contrarieté de l'Esprit & de la Chaire*, a poem reflecting one of those mediæval ideas destined triumphantly to survive the Renaissance, passionately reiterated, in fact, in the face of it by precisely such souls as Marguerite and her disciple, which, of all Marguerite's early poems, most strongly influenced Sainte-Marthe. He wrote four poems on the same subject, a prayer, *A Dieu Du debat de la Chair & de l'Esprit*,[3] and a sequence of three dixains,[4] the last of which is clearly imitated from a passage in the *Discord* describing the long-continued "bataille obstinée" between body and spirit terminated only by death:[5]

[1] *Margs. de la Marg.*, Vol. I, pp. 55, 64, 32.
[2] *P. F.*, pp. 183 and 184. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 49.
[4] *Du fruit de la Mort*, *P. F.*, p. 42.
[5] *Cf. Margs. de la Marg.*, Vol. I, p. 70. And *Cf. ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 72, and *P. F.*, p. 50.

" Deux ennemys sont en une closture,
Se guerroyants en cruelle discorde.
Voire & si faulte que ceste guerre dure
Jusques à ce, qu'un seul les deux accorde.
C'est dans le Corps l'Esprit, & la Chair orde,
Qui tousjours ont ensemble difference;
Et besoing est que la Mort s'y advance,
Qui les separe & termine leur guerre.
Mettant l'Esprit la hault par sa puissance,
La Chair cy bas, avec son Corps en terre."
— *P. F.*, p. 43.

The first dixain of the sequence also very closely approaches the Queen of Navarre's manner:

" La Mort n'est rien que separation
De deux conjoinctz, c'est du Corps & de l'Ame,
Par laquelle a l'Esprit fruition
De son Espoux, qu'il soubhaitte & tant ayme.
Le Corps s'en và pourrir dessoubz la lame,
Et fait l'Esprit vivre de luy disjoinct.
Lequel, estant paravant à luy joinct,
Nestoit que serf, languissant en sa vie.
Ò doulce Mort, qui à Dieu nous conjoinct,
De tous plaisirs rendant l'Ame assouvie."
— *P. F.*, p. 42.

This image of the soul as the spouse of Christ, kept in bondage to the body and longing to be free so as to have perfect fruition of Him, is one in which Marguerite delighted even in the

earlier poems,[1] and whose recurrence points to the later direction of her mind. Sainte-Marthe's concluding lines, with their overstrained unction, have, indeed, almost more affinity with her habitual expression than with his own. The mediæval conception of the strife of soul and body expressed in these poems is far from uncommon in Marguerite's verse. In one of her *Chansons Spirituelles*, many of them, it is fair to conjecture, composed and current in the course of 1540, and, in that case, assuredly known to Sainte-Marthe, Marguerite casts it into the form of a dialogue between the poet and her tempted soul. Certain similarities, and especially its spirited beginning:

"Ame tu n'es au chemin
Ny en la voye
De vraye felicité
Dieu t'y convoye,"[2]

seem to point to it as the inspiration of Sainte-Marthe's long *Elegie de l'Ame parlante au Corps & monstrante le proffit de la Mort*, whose fine

[1] *Cf.*, for example, *Miroir*, *Margs. de la Marg.*, Vol. I, pp. 21, 50, 64, 93.

[2] *Margs. de la Marg.*, Vol. III, p. 141.

opening is not often matched in Sainte-Marthe's productions:

> "Regarde moy, ton Ame, ô mon Corps corruptible,
> Regarde, que je suis du tout incorruptible;
> Et contemple sur moy, d'interieur remort,
> L'effect, l'esgard, l'effort, & pouvoir de la Mort."
> —*P. F.*, p. 241.

Inspiration and suggestion Sainte-Marthe doubtless owed to Marguerite's *Chanson*, but for the original model we must look elsewhere, for the Queen of Navarre merely pointed the way to that famous mediæval *Debat du corps et de l'âme*, whose composition dates back at least to the early twelfth century, and the endurance of whose popularity was proved by its publication in the early sixteenth. Noteworthy resemblances between Sainte-Marthe's other productions and religious poems of Marguerite's of uncertain date are not lacking. Both authors, for instance, dwell upon the importance of the Scriptures, "la pierre de touche"[1] to the one, to the other "pain incorruptible;"[2] both write at length of justification by faith;[3] and, while there is nothing

[1] *Les Prisons, Dernières Poésies*, p. 227.

[2] *Elegie du vray bien & nourriture de l'ame, P. F.*, p. 213.

[3] *Cf.*, for example, *A Dieu Confession de son infirmite*, etc., *P. F.*, p. 113.

singular in the fact that their thoughts should fall together on such subjects, it is a coincidence that both should express such views in verse and often in similar terms. Passages in the *Oraison de l'Ame Fidele* [1] find their counterparts in Sainte-Marthe's poems. The *Oraison* sets forth the doctrine of grace more than once in somewhat the same terms as Sainte-Marthe,[2] and the invocation with which Sainte-Marthe opens his volume:

"O Eternel, qui donnes bon esprit,
Haultain scavoir, cognoissance & momoire,"
— *A Dieu, Pour invocation, P. F.*, p. 7.

recalls the *Oraison's*

"O Eternel, en qui mon Tout je croy
* * * * *
Toute bonté, sapience & puissance."
— *Margs. de la Marg.*, p. 98.

Even when Sainte-Marthe does not borrow the very words of the Queen of Navarre, he frequently catches the turn of her phrase, the tone of her

[1] The date of its composition is uncertain. It was not published with the *Miroir de l'Ame Pecheresse* in 1531 or 1533. It appeared in the *Marguerites de la Marguerite* of 1547.

[2] *Cf. Oraison de l'Ame Fidele. Margs. de la Marg.*, Vol. I, pp. 113, 116; and *P. F.*, p. 109.

thought. The description of the Almighty in a "Ballade double," beginning,

"Le roy des Roys & Trinité celique,
Essence simple & d'un assentement,"
— *P. F.*, p. 110.[1]

has precisely the mystical complexion that Marguerite conveys into her early poems; and in an Apostrophe to Truth the closely linked exclamations and images are entirely in the queen's early manner:

"Ò l'heureux don à qui la peut avoir,
Ò l'heureux bien, à qui la peut scavoir,
O le thresor grand & inestimable,
Richesse seure à jamais perdurable,
C'est la conduite aux perilleux destrois,
C'est le pillier à supporter ses croiz,
C'est l'esguillon à toute tolerance,
Et l'entretien de fidele Esperance."
— *P. F.*, p. 131.

It is not surprising, then, that a disciple who had shown himself impressionable to the influence of the already published works of the Queen of Navarre and in whose eyes she was "souvraine-

[1] *Balade double, contenant la promesse de Christ, sa Nativite, Passion, Ressurrection & precieux sacrement de son Corps, icy à nous delaissé pour gaige de Salut, P. F.*, p. 110.

ment perfecte en Poésie, docte en Philosophie, consummée en l'Escripture Saincte, voire jusques à en rendre les plus sçavants fort émerveillés"[1] should catch at her new Platonic turn of thought, aired just at the time that he was preparing to publish his poems, and should take pains to express it. The question is not merely one of such similarities between Marguerite's later poems and Sainte-Marthe's *Poesie Francoise* as their mutual scorn of absence as affecting love,[2] their respective descriptions of "l'amour honnête,"[3] or of the higher, more ideal love.[4]

Nor is it a matter of the fall of Sainte-Marthe's verse, which at times curiously echoes that of Marguerite. The reader familiar with the *Chansons Spirituelles*, for example, may well recall the lines,

> "Mais quand j'ay JESUS receu,
> Par Foy conceu,

[1] *Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, p. 78.

[2] Marguerite, *La distinction du vray Amour*, *D. P.*, p. 309; Sainte-Marthe, *A Mademoiselle Beringue De leur honneste & irreprehensible Amour*, *P. F.*, p. 145.

[3] Marguerite, *Prisons*, *D. P.* p. 156; Sainte-Marthe, *loc. cit.*

[4] Marguerite, *Le Navire*, *D. P.*, p. 390 *et seq.* Sainte-Marthe, *A la dame . . . de M. P. Tolet*, etc., *P. F.*, p. 174.

Me suis du malheur non sceu
Bien apperceu,"
— *Margs. de la Marg.*, Vol. III, p. 111.

when he reads Sainte-Marthe:

". . . par la Foy, *Jesus* nous renouvelle,
Par la Foy fait,
Que nostre Esprit, se nourrit & reffect,
Que le lyen de peché est deffaict
C'est le vray bien, & le seul bien perfaict,
Qu'il fault avoir."
— *Elegie, cit. supra, P. F.*, p. 214.

Again, when Sainte-Marthe writes,

"Chassé de l'homme, avec DIEU suis receu,
Qui m'a esté tousjours au lieu de Pere,
De Mere, Sœur & charitable Frere,"
— *P. F.*, p. 210.

it is natural to suppose him familiar with another of the *Chansons Spirituelles*, certain, with their seductive singing rhymes, to pass from mouth to mouth as soon as composed:

"Je n'ay plus ny Pere ny Mere
Ny Seur, ny Frere
Sinon Dieu seul, auquel j'espere."
— *Margs. de la Marg.*, Vol. III, p. 120.

Not in such verbal similarities, however, nor even in the employment of the same general

themes, is Sainte-Marthe's discipleship of the Queen of Navarre most evident. He treads in her steps above all in his treatment of one particular idea. The conception of union with God as the highest good led naturally to that of the soul as the spouse of God, of God or Truth or Christ as the lover of the soul. This idea, already, as we have seen, present in her earlier poems, recurs again and again in the works of the Queen of Navarre,[1] especially in the *Chansons Spirituelles* and in the mystical ecstasies of the shepherdess of the *Comedie jouée au Mont de Marsan.*[2] Characteristic of the genius of the Queen of Navarre, it was adopted with enthusiasm by her disciple, and forms the basis of his highest and most sustained poetical effort. He touched upon it, indeed, in his dixain *Du fruict de la Mort,* but it is in his *Philalethe* that its possibilities are most thoroughly exploited. The

[1] *Cf. Margs. de la Marg.*, Vol. III, pp, 94, 96, 118, 144, 152; *Comedie jouée au Mont de Marsan, D. P.*, p. 88; *Prisons, ibid.*, p. 216; *La distinction du vray Amour, ibid.*, p. 305; *Chansons Spirituelles, ibid.*, p. 325.

[2] *Comedie jouée au Mont de Marsan, le jour de Caresme Prenant mil cinq cens quarante sept, A quattre personnages, c'est assavoir la Mondainne, la Superstitieuse, la Sage et la Raine de l'Amour de Dieu, Bergere. D. P.*, pp. 66-118.

title of this poem is explanatory; *Le Philalethe, c'est adire, Amy de verité, blasonne son Amye.*[1] Such a comparison of love of the creature with love of Truth so well echoes the spirit of the Queen of Navarre that it seems, as it were, to forestall the songs of the *Bergère* though bereft of their fire and imagination. Indeed, without a knowledge of dates, the reader might suppose it an imitation of those effusions. Since this cannot be the case, the probabilities are that Sainte-Marthe caught at Marguerite's ideas through hearsay and a perusal of such of the *Chansons Spirituelles* as may have been written and current during the year, and interpreted them in a manner which,— it is perhaps not too rash to surmise,— the queen herself remembered when creating the character of her *Bergère.* The words with which Sainte-Marthe's poem opens might easily have been written by Marguerite:

> "O Amoureux, bien ya difference
> Si comparez vostre Amye à la mienne."

The whole poem consists of a series of contrasts between the object of ordinary love and the love whom the poet courts:

[1] *P. F.*, p. 40.

"La vostre est belle en beaulté non durable,
Et tousjours à besoing d'adjoustement.
La mienne est belle en beaulté perdurable,
Sans aucun Sy, perfaicte entierement."

The Queen of Navarre's *Bergère*, too, contrasts her satisfaction in her perfect lover with the usual pains of love, compares his faithfulness to love's unfaith:

"Amour m'a faict de desplaisir mainte heure,
Mais le parfaict, qui dans mon cueur demeure,
M'a satisfaict & gardé que ne meure."
— *D. P.*, p. 94.

* * * * *

"Vous qui estes ignorantes
Que c'est que [la] ferme foy:
O combien seriez contantes
Sy vous le s[c]av[i]ez comme moy!"
— *Ibid.*, p. 101.

Sainte-Marthe thus, in his turn, exalts the faithfulness of his love:

"De vostre Amye avez suspition,
Qu'aymant aultruy quelque jour ne vous laisse.
La mienne n'a de variation,
Et nay point poeur que son amour rabbaisse."
— *P. F.*, p. 41.

In the course of this poem Sainte-Marthe returns to an idea which he had already expressed

in his lines to Tolet's mistress,[1] an idea which, while not actually present in the Queen of Navarre's poems, savors of the sort of Platonism, or rather Neo-platonism, which inspired her:

"Or plus, n'en peut vostre Amye aymer qu'un,
Ou aultrement elle sera blasmée,
Mais la mienne a vers tous Amour commun,
Et plus Vierge est, quand plus elle est aymée."
— *P. F.*, pp. 41–42.

Sainte-Marthe differs from Marguerite in giving, in his concluding stanza, the answer to his riddle, an answer which the *Bergère*, creation of a greater poet, no more than hints at. The fable is clearly explained:

"Mamye est dicte en son nom Verité,
Celle qu'aymer de bon cueur je soubhaitte:
Celle que veulx servir en purité,
Et pour qui prens tiltre de Philalethe."
— *Ibid.*, p. 42.

Here is none of the mystery and exultation of the *Bergère's* utterances, still less any touch of their perverse charm, as of a secret always on the point of revelation yet never escaping the lips.

Nor does Sainte-Marthe any more nearly ap-

[1] *Cf. supra*, p. 320.

proach the poetic mastery shown in other songs of the Queen of Navarre, such as those beginning:

"O Bergere, ma mye,
Je ne vis que d'amours;"
— *D. P.*, p. 323.

or,

"Helas, je languis d'Amours
Pour Jesuchrist mon espoux."
— *Margs. de la Marg.*, Vol. III, p. 152.

He echoed, it is true, his mistress' phrases, but he missed her soaring conceptions as a Platonist no less than the passion and fire of imagination which made her a poet. On the other hand, he imitates *con amore* Marguerite's painful prolixity. It is almost as much in this respect as in general tone that his poem, *A Madamoiselle Beringue De leur honneste & irreprehensible Amour*,[1] resembles that of "Le quatrieme gentilhomme" in *Les quatre dames et les quatre gentilzhommes*.[2] Sainte-Marthe interpreted the Queen's ideas as he understood and assimilated them indeed, but his imitations are, as a fact, those of an inferior mind.

Sainte-Marthe's debts to Marguerite were

[1] *P. F.*, p. 145 *et seq.*
[2] *Margs. de la Marg.*, Vol. IV, p. 83 *et seq.*

manifold, but in one or two instances it appears that the obligation may have been the other way. This may even be the case with the poem of *Les quatre dames et les quatre gentilz-hommes*. By the time that the Queen of Navarre published it in the *Marguerites de la Marguerite*, Sainte-Marthe's *Poesie Francoise* had been issued seven years; and although, even at that date, Sainte-Marthe was probably not in his later close personal touch with her, her interest in him and his work may be assumed, especially if we believe Sainte-Marthe's own version regarding the feeling of

> "Ce Cueur royale qui m'avoit annoblé
> De sa faveur: en tenant un grand compte
> De mes escripts: que moimesmes sans honte
> Ne pouvois lire, & louant mon esprit,
> Autant rustic, qu'est lourdant mon escript."

— Dedication *A Treshaultes et tresillusres Princesses . . . Marguerite de France . . . & Jheanne, Princesse de Navarre . . . Or. fun. de . . . M. de N.*, ed. 1550, fol. Aij r°.

It is not surprising, then, to come upon what look like more positive, though insignificant debts of the royal author to her admiring follower. The *Prisons* offers at least one reminder of the spirit

of a passage in Sainte-Marthe's address to his love, *De leur honneste & irreprehensible Amour*, thus describing that prison which is vaguely either her heart or his desire:

"Mais la prison, ô prison tresheureuse,
Prison qui n'est dure, né tenebreuse,
Prison qui a captive Liberté,
Prison qui a Libre captivité,
Prison (qui est une grande merveille)
Ou moins je veulx, fault que plus fort je vueille."
— *P. F.*, p. 146 *et seq.*

Marguerite gives vent to similar feelings about a prison of the same nature:

"Je vous confesse, Amye tant aymée,
Que j'ay longtemps quasi desestimée,
La grand doulceur d'heureuse liberté
Pour la prison où par vous j'ay esté," etc.

* * * * *

"Et si taisoys ce que je vouloys dire,
En desirant alonger mon martyre.
Martyre, quoy! mais mon très grand plaisir;

* * * * *

Brief, qui eust veu le grand contantement
Que je prenoys en ce cruel tourment
Et d'estre ainsy rudement enchayné,
Il eut jugé mon sens alienè," etc.
— *D. P.*, p. 121 *et seq.* and pp. 123 and 124 *et seq.*[1]

[1] *Cf.* Ariosto, Sonnet no. x, "Avventuroso carcere soave."

Again, Sainte-Marthe's invocation to Christ as Esculapius, already quoted,[1] may have suggested Marguerite's much later prayer for her brother:

> "O Grand Medecin tout puissant
> Redonnez luy santé parfaite."[2]

These, however, are but trivial borrowings. The stream ran in fact the other way, and we are safe in concluding that Sainte-Marthe's muse owed much to the inspiration of his patroness.

It has been pointed out that personal intercourse between the Queen of Navarre and Sainte-Marthe during the latter's sojourn in Lyons — *i.e.* in the year which turned her thoughts towards Platonism — is entirely problematic. There are no indications of Marguerite's presence in the southern capital, though she may conceivably have made it one of her frequent visits at the time her former protegé was there. It would have been an easy matter, however, for Sainte-Marthe to become informed as to the new orientation of

[1] *Cf.* p. 289 *et seq.*

[2] *Pensees de la Royne de Navarre estant dans sa litière, durant la maladie du Roy*, etc. *Margs. de la Marg.*, Vol. III, p. 87.

the Queen's ideas. Three of the ablest supporters of her Platonic propaganda were at Lyons at the time of his arrival there. Des Periers, who had been disgraced by the queen, was in favor again for the moment, but if my conjecture is correct, Sainte-Marthe's reference to him with scant sympathy after death[1] argues no tie of friendship between them in life. With Dolet and Scève, however, Sainte-Marthe was on terms of intimacy and could not, therefore, fail to hear discussion of Marguerite's new preoccupation, and of its effect upon these men of letters.[2] Dolet had not yet, indeed, in the midst of danger and secrecy, "turned over his treasures"[3] and conceived the idea of translating, besides the *Axiochus* and *Hipparchus*, which were to be his death warrant, the whole of Plato's works;[4] but there must have been talk

[1] *Cf.* p. 179. [2] *Cf.* p. 327 *et seq.*

[3] *Cf.* Letter of Dolet to Francis I., prefixed to the *Axiochus* and *Hipparchus* in the *Second Enfer d'Estienne Dolet*, etc. (1544), *cit.* Copley Christie, *op. cit.*, pp. 445, 456, 549, 550.

[4] ". . . to show you that I have commenced and made good progress in the translation of the whole of the works of Plato. So that either in your kingdom or elsewhere (since without cause I have been driven

of Des Periers' translation of the *Lysis*,[1] assuredly by this time in mind if not in hand; and some of Scève's four hundred and fifty-eight dixains, so expressive of Platonism, must — it is safe to conclude — have begun to circulate among his friends even four years before their publication.[2]

Of the four Platonists gathered in Lyons, Scève and Sainte-Marthe had most in common. Dolet's inclination towards the new doctrine was that of an erudite man of letters, interested in philosophy as such; the contribution of Des Periers, poet, *conteur*, man of genius, to the

from France) I promise you with the help of God that I will give you within a year the whole of Plato translated into your own language." *Ibid.*, p. 445.

[1] Published after his death in the *Recueil des Œuvres de feu Bonaventure des Periers*, Lyons, 1544. M. Lefranc opines that it was finished not later than 1541, *Le Platonisme et la litterature en France, loc. cit.*, p. 11. And *cf.* La Ferrière-Percy, *op. cit.*, pp. 40–46, for Des Periers' presence at Lyons and situation *circ.* 1541. La Ferrière-Percy erroneously represents Sainte-Marthe also as at Lyons in September. 1541. *Ibid.*, pp. 40 and 41.

[2] *Delie. Object de plus haulte Vertu*, Lyons, 1544. Scève's biographer, M. Albert Baur, asserts that he had been engaged in their composition since writing his *Blasons* (1534) and that from that time on they circulated among his friends. *Maurice Scève*, p. 75.

Platonistic movement was to consist only of the prose translation of the *Lysis* and its sublimated epilogue in verse, the *Queste d'Amytié*,[1] addressed to the Queen of Navarre, before "Mort implacable, implacable Mort, l'a surpris au cours de sa bonne intention,"[2] to quote the disingenuous account of Du Moulin. His other poems, with one possible exception,[3] show no traces of Platonic feeling. But Scève and Sainte-Marthe, influenced, like the others, by the Queen of Navarre, were both bitten with Petrarchism as well as Neo-platonism, and a comparison of their productions has an interest of its own in showing their few similarities and their astonishing divergence.[4] Both complain of the loss of liberty through love and find their servitude sweet;[5]

[1] *Le Discours de la Queste d'Amytie dict Lysis de Platon envoyé à la Royne de Navarre, Œuvres Françoises*, Vol. I, pp. 7–46 and 46–56.

[2] Dedication of the editor Du Moulin to the Queen of Navarre. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

[3] There is a trace of it in the *Response* to the *Chanson. À Claude Bectone, Daulphinoise*, included with Des Periers' poems, *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 164.

[4] *P. F.*, pp. 17, 54, 78, 93, 99. Scève, *Delie, Dixains* iii, vi, ccxii.

[5] Scève, *Dixains* ccxvii, clxi, ccl, ccciv. *Cf.* also *Dixain* xlvi.

Sainte-Marthe's "Vie en Mort" is matched by Scève's reference to "Vie morte" or to "celle en qui mourant je vis,"[1] and Scève's mistress no less than Sainte-Marthe's could turn his light to darkness. He says so in almost the same words as Sainte-Marthe, "Elle m'abysme en profondes tenebres,"[2] and he returns to the idea no less than three times. If Sainte-Marthe finds his ill both sweet and bitter, Scève does no less,[3] and the dixain which contains this sentiment also expresses another, elsewhere repeated, that he wishes and yet dares not, like Sainte-Marthe before him,

"Je le vouluz, an ne l'osay vouloir;"

and again:

"Je veulx soubdain & plus, soubdain je n'ose,"
— *Dixain* cxciii.

"Je veulx, voulant, rien faire je ne puis,
Et ne pouvant, tousjours j'essaye,"
— *P. F.*, p. 191.

[1] *Cf.* p. 292; Scéve, *Dixains* cxxvi and vii. *Cf.* also *Dixain* cxxvi.

[2] *Cf.* p. 284; Scève, *Dixain* vii. And *cf. Dixains* xxiv, li, and ccclxiv.

[3] *Cf.* p. 287; Scève, *Dixain* lxxvii.

says Sainte-Marthe. However, if Scève, like his friend, languishes in the prison of love,

"Ensepvely en solitaire horreur,"

it is not his fate which so dooms him but,

"la durté de ton ingrate erreur."[1]

Scève, like Sainte-Marthe, is powerfully affected by his mistress' laugh: in one poem it gives him hope of life, whilst in another he finds himself dying of it and other charms.[2] The common themes of the arrows of love, eyes that shoot and wound, the glove, the mistress rejoicing in her lover's torments, chastity and beauty,[3] and the less common one of the victory of love over age,[4] which we have already met with in the

[1] *Cf.* pp. 275 and 345; Scève, *Dixain* lxxxviii.

[2] *Cf. supra*, pp. 65 and 234; Scève, *Dixains* cv and ccxxxviii.

[3] *Cf.* pp. 235, 275, 288, and 293; Scève, *Dixains* v, vi, cxix and ccvii; ccviii, clxxviii, cclxxxii; cccviii.

[4] Sainte-Marthe, *Pourquoy lon painct Cupido en Enfance*, *P. F.*, p. 71. *Cf.* pp. 293 and 535. Scève, *Dixain* cccxcviii. It should be noted, however, that Sainte-Marthe represents love as growing with age, Scève only describes himself as not escaping love through age:

"Et en Automne, Amour, ce Dieu volage
Quand me voulois de la raison armer
A prevalu contre sens, & contre aage."

Poesie Francoise, are also present in the *Delie*. Each poet is also confident that slander can make no impression on his mistress, and here Scève has decidedly the advantage in expression:

"Retirez vous Envie & Imposture,
Soit que le temps le vous souffre, ou le nye,
Et ne cherchez en elle nourriture
Car sa foy est venin a Calumnie."
— *Dixain* ccxxi.

Sainte-Marthe's confession of faith is undeniably commonplace:

"Il te fauldra premier la divertir
D'une Bonté en la quelle elle est née.
Et si tu peux (alors) la pervertir,
Cry hardîment la bataille gaignée."
— *A un, qui taschoit d'aliener s'Amye de luy, & la tirer à soy*, *P. F.*, p. 29.

Both poets are especially close in manner when, dealing with ideal love, they declare their souls captivated by the virtue of the beloved,[1] represent love as rising superior to absence, or spurn mere desire.[2]

[1] *Cf.* pp. 65 and 289. Scève:

"Sa vertu veult estre aymée & servie,
Et sainctement & comme elle merite,
Se captivant l'Ame toute asservie."
— *Dixain* ccclxiii.

[2] *Cf.* pp. 65 and 317; Scève, *Dixains* cl and ciii, cl and cliii.

Their likenesses, however, are actually no more striking than the dissimilarities between the two poets. Scève, owing perhaps to four years advantage in which to polish his *dixains* and drink in further Italian influences, is by far the more accomplished Petrarchist, as, by native gifts, he is the better poet. Not only is Marot's influence, so evident in Sainte-Marthe's *Poesie Francoise*, absent from his work (he shows only slightest trace of it),[1] but the Italian models of the two were, in fact, different. Sainte-Marthe, influenced by the Petrarchistic movement in general, kept close to the spirit of Petrarch and the school of Bembo, while Scève went almost exclusively to the writers of strambotti, extremists in Petrarchistic conceits. If he wrote in *dixains* instead of sonnets, it was, as has been pointed out by an authority in these matters, in imitation of his chief model, Seraphino, and his school.[2] He connected these *dixains* into a sequence in

[1] "Ce doulx nenny, qui flamboyant de honte,
Me promit plus qu'onc n'osay esperer."
— *Dixain* cxlii.

[2] Vianey, *L'influence Italienne chez les Précurseurs de la Pléiade*, p. 108. Rē Scève's Italian models, *cf. ibid.*, pp. 107–147.

the Italian style, and was the first French poet to do this. Nor was he content, like Sainte-Marthe, to borrow a few Italian conceits. His *Delie* contains nearly all those current among the Italian Petrarchists. In his poems we come upon the conceits of the mirror,[1] the unblinded eye of the eagle,[2] the marble of ingratitude,[3] the wounded stag,[4] rivers of tears,[5] frozen hearts,[6] eyes with the influence of stars,[7] or the dazzling power of the sun,[8] Hydra,[9] Phœnix,[10] rose and thorn,[11] immunity from death the body lacking its heart,[12] eyebrows which are Cupid's bow,[13] fire and cold,[14] — nor does this exhaust the list of common conceits used by Scève. Their absence from Sainte-Marthe's poems is no less singular than, on the other hand, in his character as Marot's disciple, is his neglect of the "blason," the "device," or even of the "vers equivoqué."

[1] *Dixain* ccxl. [2] *Dixain* cii. [3] *Dixain* cxxxiv.
[4] *Dixain* ccclxii. [5] *Dixains* cii and cccxlx.
[6] *Dixain* ccxvii. [7] *Dixain* ccliii.
[8] *Dixains* cxiv, cxxiv and cxcvi. [9] *Dixain* cxcvii.
[10] *Dixain* cclxxxviii. [11] *Dixain* cclxi.
[12] *Dixains* clxiii and lxxxi. In the latter case even a thunderbolt produces no effect.
[13] *Dixain* cxlix. [14] *Dixain* cxvii *et passim*.

It were pleasant to suppose both omissions due to a niceness of taste.

Little remains to be said of the *Poesie Francoise*. Imitation of Marot, with excellent effect, in epigram; imitation, within limits, of the Italian Petrarchists; rather weak attempts at Platonism, under the influence of the Queen of Navarre, — these constitute its claims to attention. Its author has not the lucidity nor the engaging charm of Marot, the verve of Saint-Gelais, the feeling for nature and breadth of view of Salel; still less the reach and passion of the Queen of Navarre, or the tenderness and subtlety of Heroet. He lacks even the dexterity of his friend Scève.

This is plain also in at least two of the three *dixains* by Sainte-Marthe which were published three years after the *Poesie Francoise*, with Papillon's *Nouvel Amour* in Leonique's *Pourquoy d'Amours*.[1] One, *De folle Amour*, a warning against the dangers of love, in the commonplace tone of Eustorg de Beaulieu, concludes with unexpected grace:

> "Car à la fin soubz jeu de repentance
> Voyez amour distiller eau de larmes."

[1] *Cf.* pp. 196 and 614.

The other appears to be an attempt to emulate Scève's as yet unpublished *dixains* on their own ground.[1] The third, *Autre dixain de Cupido*, has, however, an engaging air of originality. Its conceit is not a common one, but it were rash to suppose that search would not reveal an Italian original:

"Cupido sçait enter jusques au bout,
Et se delecte en faict de jardinage,
Et, qui plus est, son ente prend son tout
Donc, & produit divers fruictz & sauvage.
Toujours travaille & poursuyt son hommage,
Sur tous vergees, il obtient la regence.
Il n'est jamais notté de negligence
Ne lascheté, au moins qu'on ne cognoisse.
Il est expert & plein de diligence,
Mais en tout arbre ente poirier d'angoisse."

Sainte-Marthe's verse is, in general, characterized by an entire lack of poetic feeling. It may be argued that the test of what modern criticism calls "poetic feeling" is too narrow a one to apply to all forms of verse, and that a *genre* midway between prose and poetry is a conspicuous possession of French literature. But of such a *genre* the critic has a right to exact other

[1] *Cf.* for both poems, p. 544 *et seq.*

qualities, if not those of poetic feeling or imagination. Brilliance, wit, terseness, clarity, "du bon sens et de l'art," should be there to delight the reader; and these qualities Sainte-Marthe's verse as a whole does not possess. It may almost be said that he could not be expected to possess them at a moment when it was Latin verse chiefly which seemed worth the care of polishing. Yet Marot had possessed them and had brought his own particular vein to perfection. In a narrow field, Sainte-Marthe also evidences some measure of these gifts, when, that is, he confines himself to imitation of Marot. It is when he turns into new paths that he loses ground and becomes involved and prolix. He was in fact incapable of applying new technique to the new themes that absorbed his attention; and his epigrams remain his best production. Conscious art, which shaped these epigrams, is generally absent from the other content of the *Poesie Francoise*. There are, of course, certain exceptions to this. Sainte-Marthe's most ambitious poem, the *Elegie du Tempé de France*, has passages of undoubted charm, and a certainty of touch which argues it his most carefully

finished production;[1] but much of its charm is that of Ælian, of Marot, perhaps of Salel; the *Philalethe*, perhaps Sainte-Marthe's best poem, with its well-sustained contrasts, is direct, graceful, and even musical; and there is elsewhere at least one example of telling simplicity inspired by real feeling:

"Vous n'estes point né Royne ni Princesse,
Et ne tenez cent mil'escus de rente,
Mais vostre tendre & premiere jeunesse
Et grand doulceur, joincte à rare simplesse,
Plus que tous biens du Monde me contente."
— *P. F.*, p. 56.

Occasionally, too, the volume offers instances of vivacious expression and telling cadence. The two best examples were inspired, one by patriotic zeal, one by feeling for the king. Sainte-Marthe speaks of the ill repute of France for brawls and calumny:

"Velà, Francoys, Francoys, velà l'injure
Que lon nous fait. Fault il que la nature
D'une tant belle et noble Nation,
Soit corrumpue en altercation?"
— *P. F.*, p. 182.

[1] Colletet even calls it "l'ouvrage le plus riche et le plus florissant de son siècle." *Vies des poëtes française*, fol. 447 r°.

Again, he addresses Francis with devoted loyalty:

Au Roy treschrestien.

"Je n'ay qu'un DIEU & un Roy en ce Monde,
Et à ces deux veulx faire obeissance.
CHRIST, le premier, est mon DIEU, sur qui fonde
Par ferme Foy, ma totale Esperance.
Mon Roy tu es, treschrestien Roy de France,
Franc Roy Francoys, refuge de Minerve.
Le debvoir veult que l'un et l'aultre serve,
De quoy au Cueur j'ay tresfervente envie,
À CHRIST mon DIEU, mon Ame je reserve
À toy mon Roy, j'abandonne ma vie."

— *P. F.*, p. 8.

There are few such spirited passages, however; and it must be admitted that the poetry of Sainte-Marthe deserves a niche in French literature scarcely at all for its actual merits, but only as, in some measure, an instrument which transmitted to posterity tendencies of later fruitfulness. It is a relief to turn to the prose which gives him a right to an individual place there.

CHAPTER III

THE FUNERAL ORATIONS

"Les Anciens," thus Sainte-Marthe begins his Funeral Oration on the Queen of Navarre, "les Anciens fort bien et sagement feirent, ô Alençonnois, quand ils instituèrent que ceuls qui auroient illustré leur nom par la gloire de leurs vaillances & prouesses, & delaissé quelque noble tesmoinage & exemple de vertu, fussent grandement loués."[1] His later oration for Françoise d'Alençon, Duchess of Beaumont, opens in the same vein: "Si nous voulions, en suivant les anciens, observer, par inviolable coustume, de marquer de pierres noires les jours, les moys, & les ans qui nous apportent tristesses & ennuis, ou publiques ou privés & domestiques, & mettre au nombre des cas malheureus les accidents qui journellement nous surviennent: certes nostre

[1] *Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, p. 23.

France auroit aujourd'huy tresbonne occasion de ce faire."[1]

This stress upon the ancients, and especially the reference to Plato in the first case[2] strikes the key note of Sainte-Marthe's oratorical efforts. The ancients were his preoccupation, his passion; Plato, his oracle. He responded with enthusiasm to the impulse of the Renaissance towards the classics; and yet, in this regard a man of the new age, his appeal to authority is as convinced as that of the veriest mediæval schoolman, even though it be to classical authority, which had for him more force than reason or analogy. This preference for authority over experience may surprise the reader who expects to find in the productions of a typical man of the Renaissance that constant appeal to the world of nature and of sense which was one of its characteristic aspects. Hardly less surprising is the devout piety of a man whose mind was permeated as was Saint-Marthe's with classic ideas. In spite of this unbounded enthusiasm for the ancients, Sainte-Marthe always — unlike others of his time and of his circle —

[1] *Or. fun. . . . de Fr. d'A.*, fol. 3 r°. [2] *Laws*, VII, 801.

remained unpaganized by his classical sympathies. And yet, so far as his Funeral Orations are concerned, the truths of Christianity, dearly cherished as they were, form but a background for the crowding forms of all antiquity. To read his two Orations on the Queen of Navarre and the Duchess of Beaumont is to perceive that for him, as for so many of his contemporaries, the world Sainte-Marthe lived in was the classic world, to which he would fain adjust the life about him.

An inheritor of mediæval tradition in reliance upon authority, his preference for quotations from the classics rather than the Scriptures and the fathers stamps Sainte-Marthe a child of the Renaissance. Plato dictates the very conduct of his Oration for the beloved Queen of Navarre: "Suyvant la doctrine de Platon, je parleray premièrement des Ancestres de Marguerite; après, de sa nourriture & institution, &, finallement, de ses mœurs & de sa vie, qu'elle a si heureusement passée en la compaignie de toutes les vertus que, de la mémoire des hommes, l'on n'a onc veu plus perfaicte femme."[1] If the

[1] *Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, p. 29.

same order is not observed in the Oration on the Duchess of Beaumont, the fact is duly deprecated: "Il est vray que je pourroie commencer a louer Francoise de la noblesse du sang & de la maison dont elle fut extraicte, si je vouloie religieusement garder les preceptes des Rhetoriciens, . . . mais il me semble que seroit parolle superflue, de vouloir manifester a nostre France ce qu'il luy est si clair & si notoire."[1] The practice itself of delivering funeral orations is supported by the example of Greeks, Romans, Indians and Egyptians, the origin and progress of the custom among whom is duly sketched.[2] "Pleust il à Dieu," adds Sainte-Marthe, referring to those customs, and ignoring, like a true humanist, all the interval between classical antiquity and his own time, "Pleust il à Dieu, ô Alençonnois que ceste coustume fust aujourd'huy si bien gardée que ceuls qui louent les trespassés si véritablement déclarassent leur vie que . . . ils ne feissent de vices vertus."[3] Elsewhere Sainte-Marthe again indicates the small place held by mediæval tradition in the view of the

[1] *Or. fun. . . . de Fr. d'A.*, fol. 8 v°.
[2] *Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, pp. 24–26. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 25.

enthusiastic classicist: "Quand nous desirons aulcuns précepteurs pour la reformation des mœurs de la jeunesse, nous prenons nostre recours aux préceptes des Perses," he writes, comparing the queen's education to that of the Persians in the *Cyropædia*.[1] As the happy result of the efforts of Louise of Savoy, one would have supposed her daughter a Persian maiden instructed in Persian severity rather than a Frenchwoman, and it was, indeed, according to Sainte-Marthe, Xenophon's precept that induced Charles D'Angoulême, her father, to devote more attention to the education than to the worldly advantage of his children. Again, since critics may complain of the uselessness of praises addressed to the deceased who are deaf to them, or doubt the advantages of orations in general, perhaps of Sainte-Marthe's in particular, that orator quotes Aspasia, Cicero, and the Law of the Twelve Tables in his support.[2] There were those, moreover, who found any account of the life of the deceased out of place in a funeral oration. Sainte-Marthe, by way of reply, dwells upon the usefulness of "l'œuvre qu'a escript Plutarche

[1] *Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, p. 38. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 25–26.

des vies des Grecs & Romains Empereurs, Princes, & belliqueus Capitaines,"[1] as of the histories of Suetonius and Xenophon; points to the effect upon Alexander of Homer's account of Achilles, upon Cæsar of viewing a statue in Gades; and credits the adventures of Theseus to the legends of Hercules, the actions of Themistocles to the sight of the trophies of Miltiades.[2] Let the sex of the Queen of Navarre be objected as a reason against public praise of her, and Sainte-Marthe, once again remembering Plutarch, is ready with references to the Roman matrons of the time of Camillus, to the mother of Crassus, the wife of Cæsar;[3] while, if he abstains from dwelling upon the faults of Marguerite, he justifies himself by the examples of Demosthenes, Hortensius, Crassus, Cicero, the authority of Plato and Maximus Tyrius, as also of St. Paul "nostre docteur."[4]

Sainte-Marthe regarded the ancients, indeed, no less as guides for the entire conduct of life, than as sponsors for his own procedure. He defines

[1] *Or. fun. . . . de Fr. d'A.*, fol. 19 v°.
[2] *Ibid.*, fol. 20 r°.
[3] *Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, p. 27. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 95.

the functions of a prince according to Demosthenes, Musonius and Plato; illustrates illiteracy by a reference to Valentinian and Licinius; magnanimity by comparison with Aristides, Socrates, Julius Cæsar, Aurelius Antonius and Vespasian; envy with the names of Zoilus, Palæmon, Bavius, Pollio, Eudocius.[1] If he wishes to contrast avarice and liberality, the opinions of Pythagoras, Socrates and Seneca occur to him, the examples of Caligula, Nero, Demetrius, Cleopatra, Flavius, Vespasian, Gallienus, Pomponius, Lucullus, Alexander, Augustus and Agrippa, of Pygmalion, Polymnestor, Julian, Patroclus, Orchus, Tiberius, Galba, Domitian and Achæus, together with a paltry pair of modern instances: Alphonso of Naples and Alexander V.[2]

[1] *Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, pp. 85, 73, 56; *Or. fun. . . . de Fr. d'A.* fol. 20 v°.

[2] *Or. fun. . . . de Fr. d'A.*, fols. 27 v°, 28 r° and v°, 29 v°. Some of the same examples occur to illustrate identical points in the Oration for the Queen of Navarre (pp. 86–90). Here it is Iamblichus, Plato and Epictetus who are quoted. The examples of liberality are Cimon the Athenian, Obadiah and Lucina, as well as Vespasian, Gallienus and Marc Anthony; of avarice, Uvidius and Saleranus in addition to Patroclus, Polymnestor and Orchus. The others are omitted.

When Sainte-Marthe touches upon the Duchess of Beaumont's treatment of her servants, he feels that it needs the examples of Cato and Lucullus and the authority of Plato to support it; her pity and liberality, on the other hand, would have won approval of Crates; while Xenophon, Virgil and Plato are called upon to confirm the value of her other qualities.[1] The Queen of Navarre's patronage of learning is compared with that of Mæcenas and Lucullus, her sisterly piety extolled above that of Antigone, the sisters of Phaëton, or the Hyades. In that she risked liberty and life and served the king for her country's good, she is likened to Marcus Regulus, to Perseus freeing Andromeda, to Lucullus aiding Cotta, to Balsatia saving Calphurnius Crassus;[2] as are she and her brother to Anchurus the Phrygian, Spertus and Bulis, the Decii and Curtii, and Codrus[3] the Athenian. The grief of those who survived her recalls to Sainte-Marthe's mind that of Alcestis and Laodamia, and he contrasts with it the sorrow of Evadne,

[1] *Or. fun. . . . de Fr. d'A.*, fols. 17 v°, 21 v°, 13 r°.
[2] "Calphurne le gras" is Sainte-Marthe's version.
[3] *Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, pp. 81, 48, 49.

Marcus Plautus, Portia, adding a reference to Antoninus Pius and Antimachus.[1] France, in the loss of her princes, is likened to the Romans at Cannæ, to Cyrus harassed by the Scythians, or Demetrius by Ptolemy.[2] It were useless to multiply examples to show that the mind of Marguerite's *maître des requêtes* was saturated with classic ideas.

It will be seen that Sainte-Marthe makes a parade of learning as extended and varied as does Rabelais, though without Rabelais' happy gift of fusing all his borrowings to his own use by the fire of his genius. He desired, no doubt, to be credited with the erudition which he attributes to Mathew Pac, "qui a si dextrement versé en l'estude des bonnes Lettres que ne puis dire aultre chose de luy sinon qu'il est parvenue à L'Encyclopédie";[3] and his hearers might well be stunned by the infinity of his allusions. He produced this effect, however, by means in which Rabelais had shown the way,[4] that of

[1] *Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, pp. 111 and 112.
[2] *Or. fun. . . . de Fr. d'A.*, fol. 3 v°.
[3] *Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, p. 82.
[4] *Cf.* on this subject Brunetière, *Hist. de la litt. Française classique*, Vol. I, p. 128, n. 1.

concealing his sources, and even taking pains to deceive his readers. For example, when he confirms, by the authority of the Scriptures or of St. Chrysostom, the sentiments on life and death of Euripides, Æschylus, Cicero, Sophocles, Themistius, Sotades, Gorgias Leontinus, Maximus Tyrius, and above all "le divin Platon," whom he quotes twice in this connection,[1] it seems certain that he took eight of the ten classical quotations straight from Stobæus' two chapters on the Inevitability and Praise of Death where they are to be found.[2] Again, in the Oration

[1] *Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, pp. 113–119.

[2] *I.e.* all but those from Cicero and Maximus Tyrius. *Florilegium*, Tit. 118; 23, Tit. 119; 6, Tit. 120; 7, 11, 12, and 28. Ed. Gaisford, Vol. III, pp. 453, 459, 466. One indication that this was Sainte-Marthe's real source is the anecdote of Gorgias Leontinus which he attributes to Aristotle, "Cela est confirmé par ce qu'Aristote escript de George, Léontin." Stobæus correctly gives the source as Ælian (Tit. 118; 23), and a few lines farther on (Tit. 118; 29) he gives another anecdote of Gorgias attributed to Aristotle. Obviously Sainte-Marthe confounded the two. Of the editions available for Sainte-Marthe, the Greek of Trincavellus, Venice, 1536, and the three first Græco-Latin editions of Gesner, Zurich, 1543, Turin, 1544, and Basle, 1549, it seems probable that he used one of the latter, since he makes several citations present in these but lacking in Trincavellus; *i.e.* those from Socrates on

for Françoise d'Alençon, he rebukes flatterers with a saying from Isocrates, another from Diogenes, and two from Antisthenes; and these four occur likewise in Stobæus' chapter on flattery.[1] When he quotes Musonius and Iamblichus on the attributes and duties of a prince, it is interesting to note that Sainte-Marthe might have found both quotations in the same anthology,[2] although more widely separated than the others. Again it is highly probable that, when he refers more generally to the precepts of Plato, Isocrates and Aristotle concerning the office of a prince, or when he exclaims that the life of Françoise d'Alençon was such as the teachers of princes recommend, "ou je ne sçay que Platon, Aristote, Xenophon, & leurs semblables appellent vivre en vray Prince," he had in mind Stobæus' chapters on rulers, on the advantages of government, or on precepts for govern-

temperance, *cit.* p. 371, and on liberality, *cit.* p. 366, and one from Euripides on true nobility (*Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, p. 30; Stobæus, Tit. 87; 2. Vol. III, p. 207), and another on death (*cf. supra*).

[1] *Or. fun. . . . de Fr. d'A.*, fol. 18 r°; Stob., Tit. 14; 14, 15, 19. Vol. I, pp. 333 and 334.

[2] *Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, pp. 85 and 89; Stob., Tit. 48; 14, and Tit. 46; 62. Vol. II, pp. 304 and 276.

ment, — chapters in which Plato, Xenophon and Isocrates are very fully represented even though citations from Aristotle are scant.[1] The reader who notes that a single chapter of the *Florilegium* includes both a saying of Socrates on temperance and Aristippus' comparison of moderation to proper horsemanship, which Sainte-Marthe cites within a page of one another,[2] gives its weight to the coincidence, especially when strengthened by the fact that the opinion of the Stoics on the treatment of malefactors, cited by Sainte-Marthe, is reported at length by Stobæus."[3] Again, Sainte-Marthe's quotations on the charm of silence in woman are all comprised in Stobæus' chapters of precepts on marriage, or on its advantages and disadvantages;[4] and the aphorisms on liberality in princes which, within a few pages of one an-

[1] *Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, p. 46; *Or. fun. . . . de Fr. d'A.*, fol. 19 r°; Stob., Tit. 45; 16 (X.), 18, 21 (A.), 24, 30, 31 (Pl.), Tit. 47; 8 (Pl.), 9–18 (Is.), 23, 25 (Pl.), Tit. 48; 18 (X.), 22 (Pl.), 28–41 (Is.), 48–58 (Is.), 59 (Pl.), 60 (X.), 68–76 (X.). Vol. II, pp. 245–246; 293–341.

[2] *Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, pp. 67 and 68; Stob. Tit. 17; 18, 28. Vol. I, pp. 347 and 349.

[3] *Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, p. 69; Stob. Tit. 44; 50. Vol. II, p. 269.

[4] *Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, p. 75. Stob. Tit. 74; 29, 38, 65, Tit. 69; 17. Vol. III, pp. 76, 77, 34, 90.

other, he attributes to Epictetus and Iamblichus, occur close together also in the anthology.[1] It is striking, too, that Sainte-Marthe should on the same page quote, from Pythagoras and Socrates, aphorisms on liberality which stand side by side in Stobæus,[2] even though he adds a saying of Seneca's on the same subject, which the *Florilegium* does not contain. His quotations from, and references to, Aristotle are few; yet, of the six references he makes, four might have been taken from Stobæus,[3] and one is certainly a misquotation from that source. Xenophon is much in Sainte-Marthe's mouth, but, despite reference to "l'elegant livre de Xenophon de l'adolescence de Cyre," or the insinuating phrase, "vous avez lu en Xenophon,"[4] it is almost certain that he read Xenophon through

[1] *Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, pp. 86 and 89; Stob. Tit. 44; 75, Tit. 46; 88. Vol. II, pp. 282 and 279.

[2] *Or. fun. . . . de Fr. d'A.*, fol. 27 v°. Stob. Tit. 15; 7. Vol. I, p. 336.

[3] *I.e.* on the office of a prince, the anecdote of Gorgias Leontinus (*cf. supra*, p. 369, n. 2), and two descriptions of anger (*Or. fun. . . . de Fr. d'A.*, fol. 25 r°, and v°).

[4] *Or. fun. . . . de Fr. d'A.*, fol. 19 v°. *Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, p. 38. The *Cyropædia* had been first printed in 1516. The latest edition had been of Halles, 1540; there had been also one at Florence in 1527 (Brunet).

the medium of Stobæus, so striking is the coincidence of the citations, of one of which he even forgot the original source and made a false attribution.[1] Euripides is another favorite with Sainte-Marthe, and every quotation from him might have been drawn from Stobæus.[2] Even references to Alcestis and Evadne,[3] not there found, do not necessarily presuppose a knowledge of the *Alcestis* or the *Supplices*, but may well, judging by Sainte-Marthe's procedure with Stobæus, have been gleanings from some other anthology. Such parade of learning has a naïveté all its own, once its sources are known.

It is obvious from all this that Sainte-Marthe did not desire his sources recognized. In fact he took pains to avoid such recognition. He mentions Stobæus twice — 'comme nous lisons

[1] A reference to the importance of gravity in a prince (Stob. Tit. 5; 127. Vol. I, p. 177) is actually not from Xenophon, as given by Sainte-Marthe, but from Plato (*Rep.* III, 388), and is so given by Stobæus.

[2] The quotations are: on silence in women, on death, on noble parentage, on true nobility, *Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, pp. 33, 29, and 30; Stob. Tit. 89; 2, Tit. 86; 1, Tit. 87; 2. Vol. III, pp. 212, 194 and 207.

[3] *Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, p. 111.

en Stobée le Philosophe Musone avoir autrefois dit," he writes in one place[1] and elsewhere refers to "Sopatre en Stobée."[2] Yet a few pages further on, he quotes Sopater again without any reference to Stobæus although the citation is drawn from the same chapter and is one of Stobæus' ten extracts from Sopater, all bracketed together.[3] Nor does he, elsewhere, give the slightest indication of this source, nor indicate other secondary sources of his classical allusions, which were probably, in fact, Maximus Valerius,[4]

[1] *Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, p. 42. The reference is to Stobæus, Tit. 48; 67. Vol. II, p. 274.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 65. The reference is to Stobæus, Tit. 48; 67. Vol. II, p. 274.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 69. Stob. Tit. 46; 55. Vol. II, p. 271.

[4] Sainte-Marthe once mentions this author, "Valère le grand," in company with Plato, Aristotle and Cicero, *rē* divination by dreams (*Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, p. 105). It seems probable that he owed to him a story of two Arcadians, one of whom after death warned the other in a dream; a reference to the inconsolable grief of Marcus Plautus, and even — though here possible sources increase — another to the devotion of Codrus and of Regulus; (*ibid.*, pp. 106, 111, 48. *Cf.* Max. Val. I, 8; IV, 6; V; 6; I; 1 and 2). There had been many editions, and an early translation, pub. *circ.* 1480, was reprinted in

Ælian,[1] and Boccaccio's *De mulieribus claris*.[2]

Abstraction made of these, however, Sainte-Marthe still evinces an acquaintance with ancient authors sufficient to mark him as a widely read classical scholar, if not one of so encyclopedic an erudition as he would have his hearers believe.

1485 and several times thereafter. There had been a Paris edition as recent as 1544.

[1] Sainte-Marthe's debt to Ælian for his description of the Vale of Tempe in his *Tempé de France*, when he could only have known selections, has already been noted. There had since been two editions of the *Variæ historiæ*, *i.e.* 1545 (Rome) and 1548 (?) (Frankfort). It seems plausible to suppose that Sainte-Marthe had in mind that author's account of Nauches (*Var. Hist.* XIX; 7) when he writes; "Elle ayma trop mieuls . . . se rendre digne du sanctuaire des Presbstres d'Aegypte . . . que de . . . laisser emmaigrir, aux Lois des Lacédémoniens, un gros, un gras, & épicurien ventre" (*Or. fun. . . . de Marguerite de Navarre*, p. 67). If he knew Ælian well, Sainte-Marthe perhaps also owed to him other references, as to Alexander, Zoilus, Xantippe, the Pythagoreans, etc.

[2] Sainte-Marthe devotes two or three pages (*Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, pp. 78–80 and 90) to the praise of famous women. Many of the same names occur in Boccaccio's *De mulieribus claris*, which had, by 1550, gone through several editions and had been twice translated into French; notably those of Sappho, Leontium, Proba, Pope Joan, as well as those of Cleopatra, and Portia mentioned by Sainte-Marthe in another connection.

He shows familiarity with Horace and Martial;[1] Virgil, Ovid, Cicero, and Plutarch he knew by heart, and he had certainly read Suetonius,[2]—"Quel profit avons nous de l'histoire que Suetone nous a laissee de la vie des douze Cesars?" he exclaims with more apparent ingenuousness than is shown in his references to the *Cyropædia*.[3] He begins one of his allusions to Herodotus with the words, "Herodote a mis en son histoire," and he appears at least to have dipped into that author.[4] Homer he seems to have known chiefly in the *Odyssey*, for he makes but two

[1] *Cf. supra*, p. 366, *rē* envy. He quotes Ovid *rē* Maecenas, and also two lines from the first ode of Horace:

"& a ouy Horace, qui l'appeloit son appuy & refuge, engendré d'ayeuls & bisayeuls Roys."

—*Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, p. 30.

[2] Sainte-Marthe appears to be chiefly indebted to Suetonius for anecdotes of Titus Vespasianus, and possibly for references to Augustus, Trajan, Galienus, Domitian, etc. (*Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, pp. 56, 60, 62, 86, 67; *Or. fun. . . . de Fr. d'A.*, fol. 28 r° and v°). There had been numberless editions of the authors mentioned.

[3] *Or. fun. . . . de Fr. d'A.*, fol. 19 v°.

[4] *Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, p. 50. He was probably indebted to him for a reference to Bulis (*ibid.*, p. 48), and to one of the kings of Egypt (*Or. fun. . . . de Fr. d'A.*, fol. 32 r°). The only available edition of Herodotus was the Aldine of 1502.

clear references to the *Iliad*.[1] Maximus Tyrius, "le grand Tyrien," he quotes several times[2] and he had possibly read in Suidas.[3] From Demosthenes he quotes thrice, and, since he was not indebted to Stobæus for any of the three quotations, we may infer that Sainte-Marthe at least skimmed the original.[4] To Dion Cassius he appears to have owed at least one story[5] while for another he probably consulted Capitolinus,[6] and he was certainly acquainted with the

[1] *I.e.* to Achilles (*Or. fun. . . . de Fr. d'A.*, fol. 20 r°), and to the shield of Ajax (*Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, p. 89). In another place (*Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, p. 5) he refers to Agamemnon, Orestes, Atreus and Tantalus. The only separate edition of the Odyssey available was that of 1541 (Paris).

[2] *Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, pp. 60, 78, 118, and 119.

[3] Supposing that by "Agacle" (*cf. infra*, note 1) he intended Agalla.

[4] *Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, pp. 61 and 85.

[5] *Or. fun. . . . de Fr. d'A.*, fol. 29 v°. Of the impoverishment of the Emperor Nerva. The source may have been Dion Cassius, LXVII, 15–125; LVIII, 21. Sainte-Marthe's version, however, is erroneous. The first edition of Dion Cassius had appeared but two years previous to the date of Sainte-Marthe's orations (Paris, 1548).

[6] *Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, p. 67. An anecdote of Helvetius Pertinax, "Aelie surnommé Pertinace."

Greek Anthology.[1] Apart from scattered references to Simonides, to Aristophanes, to Antimachus,[2] to the Law of the Twelve Tables, the foregoing, with the single exception of Plato,

[1] There had been a Paris edition in 1531. In the account of famous women, *cit. supra*, p. 375, note 2, Sainte-Marthe includes the following dixain:

> " Ne Praxille, jadis femme si trèssçavante
> Ne Nosse, qui fut tant doctement escrivante,
> Ne Agacle & Anite, & le gentil esprit
> D'Erinne, qui coucha trois cents vers par escript,
> Ne Myrte, & Télésille au Virile courage,
> Ne Corinne, poëte eloquente & trèssage,
> Qui si bien le boucler de Pallas blasonna
> Qu'un immortel renom sa plume luy donna,
> Oeuvre ne feirent onc tant docte qui mérite
> Le comparer à ceuls de nostre Marguerite."

This simply repeats Antipater of Thessalonica's list of women-poets (Anthol. I; LXVII; 8), omitting the names of Sappho and Myro, and adding that of Agacle (Agalla?). In addition to these names and those he drew from Boccaccio, Sainte-Marthe mentions in this connection some whose source is easily recognized, Cassandra, Diotima, Aspasia; others derived from his theological reading, Hildegarde, St. Catharine of Sienna, Fabia, Marcella and Eustochia; and yet others whose source is less easily established, Damo, Themistoclea, Artemisia, and Sosipater whom he names oddly enough among women-poets.

[2] *Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, pp. 31, 90, 112, 26; *Or. fun. . . . de Fr. d'A.*, fol. 8 v°.

fairly sums up the classical knowledge displayed by Sainte-Marthe in his Funeral Orations.

In spite of his array of pagan authorities, in spite of such phrases as "ravy devant son aige par l'envie des fatalles Déesses,"[1] it should not be hastily concluded that enthusiasm for antiquity superseded his religion in Sainte-Marthe's mind. A devout Christian, his mind was well furnished with images and phrases, the outcome of a profound religious experience, even though, so far as the Orations are concerned, they rose less readily to the surface than pagan allusions. In several passages of great beauty his reference is entirely to Christian authority and tradition, as for example in the entire account of an incident at Bourg-la-Reine quoted later in this chapter,[2] or in praises of the anti-pagan virtues of simpleness and charity: "ce qu'ils appellent legiérté & inconstance, nous dirons que c'a esté une candeur & pour parler comme l'Escripture Saincte une simplicité."[3] Another passage of

[1] *Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, p. 45.

[2] *Cf. infra*, p. 431 *et seq.*

[3] *Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, p. 99. Sainte-Marthe continues: "Au Genèse, Jacob est fort prisé de sa simplicité, et Job nous est proposé comme simple et droict homme.

this kind is a touching description of Marguerite's faith as shown in her death, wherein all pagan allusions appear to be purposely omitted, and only St. John and St. Paul are quoted.[1] "Mais d'où nous vient il d'affermer & confesser Jésus estre tel? Certes nous ne l'apprenons des préceptes des Philosophes, non des contentions sophistiques, non du jugement de la Chair, non des traditions des hommes, non de la sapience

Aussi escrit Solomon le juste vivre au Monde en simplicité & qu'il nous fault cercher Dieu avec une simplicité d'esprit. Et S. Paul après, escrivant aux Corinthiens, se glorifie de n'avoir conversé au Monde en sagesse charnelle, mais en simplicité. Or prend il ceste simplicité pour une candeur. Quand il loue aux mesmes Corinthiens la charité de ceuls de Macédone, qui, quelque pauvreté qu'ils heussent, avoient secouru les pauvres de Jérusalem de toutes choses nécessaires par un simple cœur, c'est de cœur candide, non fainct ne double. Et Job, louant la mesme vertu, dit que le Seigneur n'abandonne & ne repoulse jamais les simples, mais qu'il ne preste sa main aux malings.

"Mais, ô Alençonnois, à quelle fin disons nous tout cecy, sinon pour vous monstrer clairement que nous appellons justement simplicité ce que les détracteurs de Marguerite appellent inconstance & esprit muable? Je dy simplicité, une ingénuité & candeur de franc cœur, ne pensant à aulcune malice, déloyaulté & dol. Mais d'où vient cest candeur que de Charité? Car Charité, comme dit S. Paul ne pense à aulcun mal & n'est point maligne."

[1] *Cf. Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, p. 103.

& prudence humaine,"[1] thus Sainte-Marthe introduces this subject. Elsewhere, again, he breaks into the language of the Psalms: "heureuse d'avoir esté comme la vigne fructueuse es costés de sa maison; heureuse d'avoir veu ses enfants commes plantes d'olives a l'environ de sa table," etc.[2]

Such passages are indeed rare, rarer than those whose classical reference is unalloyed with anything Christian. As a fact Sainte-Marthe's commonest procedure is to mix together Christian and pagan allusions. It seems clear that, following the example already set by Marguerite of Navarre,[3] he deliberately attempted to harmo-

[1] *Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, pp. 102 *et seq.*

[2] *Or. fun. . . . de Fr. d'A.*, fol. 42 v°.

[3] *Cf.*, on this subject, A. Lefranc, *Les Dernières Poésies de Marguerite de Navarre*, p. lxiv. M. Lefranc says elsewhere: "Il rêve de réconcilier le christianisme avec la philosophie antique et conçoit, à la suite de celle qu'il pleure, une sorte de vie nouvelle où les deux principes, en apparence opposés, s'uniraient dans une harmonie supérieure. Il est curieux de noter que ce beau discours, où le nom et les citations de Platon se retrouvent à chaque page, renferme pour ainsi dire la moelle des enseignements académiques sur tous les grands problèmes qui sollicitent la reflexion." *Marguerite de Navarre et le Platonisme de la Renaissance, loc. cit.*, Vol. LIX, p. 754.

nize, in his readers' minds, Christian doctrine and classical philosophy, to reinterpret, through the latter, a religion encumbered with the false or useless traditions of men.[1] Already, in one of his Paraphrases, of ten years before, he had caught up St. Jerome's phrase "Christian philosophy,"[2] and echoed it with "secretoria Evangelicæ philosophiæ,"[3] and now he repeated it with an emphasis indicating that it fell in well with his own thought: "Il ne fault toutefois qu'on pense, quand nous faisons mention de Philosophie, que nous ne parlons que de celle qui s'aprend ès escripts de Platon & des aultres Philosophes, car nous entendons aussi de la Philosophie Evangélique, qui est la Parolle de Dieu."[4] If, however, like Calvin, he attempted to interpret Christianity as a philosophy, his wish to amalgamate it with that of the ancients,

[1] Sainte-Marthe's animadversions upon human traditions have already been noted; *cf. supra*, p. 209, n. 1.

[2] The letters of St. Jerome had been frequently printed and had even been translated into French in 1520. Nisard has pointed out Erasmus' use of the phrase, *Hist. de la lit. française*, Vol. I, p. 328. And *cf.*, on the subject of Calvin's philosophy, *ibid.*, pp. 322–336.

[3] *In Ps. . . . xxxiij Paraphrasis*, p. 146.

[4] *Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, p. 43.

shown by constant juxtaposition of Christian and pagan authorities, was a thing assuredly far from Calvin's thought. An example of his procedure is his comparison of the fortitude of the queen, who on the death of her infant son caused the Te Deum to be sung, and who placarded about the town, "The Lord gave and the Lord has taken away," to that of Anaxagoras, Bibulus, Antigone, Rutilius, no less than to that of Symphrosia, Felicity, or Sophia; and his assurance, almost in the same breath, that her courage was as much based upon her recollection of Euripides and Herodotus as upon her conviction that the soul of her child was "entre les mains de Celuy qui avoit crié sur la terre: 'Laissés venir les enfants à moy.'"[1] In like manner, when forced to admit that Marguerite was not without faults, he illustrates indifferently from the characters of Alexander, Julius Cæsar, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Cato and Cicero, Solomon and St. Peter. Elsewhere Sopater and "nostre Saincte Escripture" are bracketed together, as are Plato, Cato, and Solomon, or Plato, Moses, Christ, and St. Paul, or again

[1] *Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, pp. 49–51.

Cimon the Athenian, Obadiah and Lucina,[1] while "l'ethnique Socrate" and "le fidèle Job" rub shoulders more than once.[2] Here the reader will find the mothers of Cato, Fabian, Camillus, the Decii, the Curtii, Homer, Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, and of Tertullian, Origen, Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome, Cyprian and Chrysostom, named in a list sufficiently diverting,[3] there the discussion of anger embellished by reference to Euripides, Menander, Aristotle, Plato, Homer, Seneca, Alexander, and St. Paul and David.[4] Elsewhere her panegyrist declares that, if the Queen of Navarre had not learned conjugal behavior from St. Paul, she would have done so from

[1] *Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, pp. 97, 65, 88.

[2] "L'ethnique Socrate ou le fidèle Job seroient de nous grandement loués si nous lisions d'eulx un acte semblable. Combien plus doibt il estre prisé en une femme, dont le sexe pourroit excuser toute pusillanimité, tant grande fust elle?" *Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, p. 52. "Passast il en patience Socrate & Iob." "Si Socrate n'eust trouvé la malicieuse Xantippe, comment eust il exercé sa constance? Si Hiob n'eust esté affligé, qui nous eust rendu tesmoinage de sa patience?" *Or. fun. . . . de Fr. d'A.*, fols. 26 r° and 32 v°.

[3] *Or. fun. . . . de Fr. d'A.*, fol. 36 r°. As proof of the usefulness of the Duchess in her generation.

[4] *Ibid.*, fols. 25 r°–26 r°.

Plutarch,[1] and that, as for all that Euripides, Democritus, Epicharmus, Nicostrates or Phidias's significant statue of Venus could teach on the need of reticence in speech, "Marguerite sçavoit tout cecy, car elle avoit aprins, non seulement des auteurs ethniques, mais aussi des catholiques & chrestiens, combien doivent les femmes honorer, révérer, craindre & aymer leurs maris.[2] In yet other contexts he sets an anecdote of Alexander over against a command of Christ,[3] or links together sayings of Aristotle and St. Paul: "Aristote escrit que vertu est exercee par les choses difficiles & S. Paul dit, qu'elle se rend & monstre perfaicte en l'infirmité."[4] Such juxtaposition of authorities clearly expresses a mind at once humanistic and Christian, but it is only when taken in connection with the all-pervading influence of Plato that it seems to point to the attempt of a devout theologian and a devoted Platonist to amalgamate the two philosophies.

Plato's name comes in with emphasis at the

[1] *Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, p. 73. *Cf. infra*, p. 418.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 75. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 59.
[4] *Or. fun. . . . de Fr. d'A.*, fol. 32 v°.

end of a passage which clearly expresses Sainte-Marthe's views and in which every sentence recalls the master's teachings, almost his very words.[1] How may we learn, asks the orator, what justice is, save of the philosophers? Who shall better govern than he who can govern himself? But only philosophy leads to temperance and the other virtues. Should he be king who is the effeminate slave of vice, or he who is magnanimous and impregnable by furious desires? Philosophy it is that teaches fortitude and constancy, and shows that virtue dwells not in the realms of pleasure. How shall a man who cannot establish nor obey the laws be king? Philosophy alone governs these and calls a king "soul of the law." If princes considered these things they would not despise philosophers but study that philosophy, the practice of goodness and honor, which profits great, mean, and small, but is most useful to the prince. . . . It must not be supposed, — Sainte-Marthe brings out at last the name and design nearest his heart, — it must not be supposed that we speak only of that which is to be learned in the writings of

[1] *Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, pp. 42–44.

Plato and the other philosophers, for we mean it also of the evangelical philosophy — "Philosophie Evangélique" — which is the very word of God.

The influence of Platonic ideas upon Sainte-Marthe as evinced in the *Poésie Françoise* has already been noted. In the ten years between the publication of that volume and the composition of the two Funeral Orations, Sainte-Marthe's impulse in this direction had had time to become all the more pronounced because a fraction of these years had been passed within the radius of that woman's influence who more than any one of her time fostered the doctrine and spirit of Platonism. But he had had time also to acquaint himself more closely with the *Dialogues*; and, as a consequence, the direct impress of Plato upon his thought is strikingly shown in both Orations, in contrast to the Neoplatonic cast of Marguerite's philosophy, no less than to that of his own ideas as shown in his *Poesie Francoise*. "Le poète qui, dans l'entourage littéraire de la reine a célébré avec la foi la plus ardente, la plus communicative, les beautés de la religion platonicienne, ce fut sans contredit

l'aimable Charles de Sainte-Marthe."[1] Thus a modern authority sums up his contribution to the Platonic movement in the earlier of the two Funeral Orations, "chef d'œuvre trop ignoré." Here, as in the Oration for Françoise d'Alençon, references to Plato and citations from him abound, clearly, unlike Sainte-Marthe's other classical allusions, the fruit of first-hand knowledge.[2] Besides the references

[1] A. Lefranc, *Marguerite de Navarre et le Platonism de la Renaissance, loc. cit.* p. 754.

[2] While certain of the passages in Plato referred to by Sainte-Marthe are to be found in Stobæus, others are noticeably absent. For example, passages from the *Cratylus, cit. infra*, p. 401; the reference to death as the fruition of all good (*Or. fun. . . . de Fr. d'A.*, fols. 6 v° and 43 r°; *Phædo*, 68); the passage from which Sainte-Marthe drew his reference to Diotima (*Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, p. 78; *Symposium*, 201–8); the description of anger with the quotation from Homer (*Or. fun. . . . de Fr. d'A.*, fol. 25 v°; *Philebus*, 47), and of domestic rule as the test of a prince *cit. infra*, p. 391; the passages on Socrates' dream (*Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, p. 106; *Crito*, 44), on dreams in general (*ibid.*, p. 107; *Rep.*, IX, 571), and on the common material of humanity wrought to different ends (*Or. fun. . . . de Fr. d'A.*, fol. 10 r° and v°; *Rep.*, III, 415); the description of the prince as the soul of the law (*Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, pp. 43 and 85: a possible misreading of *Laws*, IV, 715), and of credulity as the mother of inconstancy *cit. infra*, p. 391, — all are lacking in Stobæus. Finally there are two passages of particular significance.

already noted, there are citations of Plato

One, is a reference to the unruly horse of the passions of the *Phædrus* (*cit. infra*), which is omitted by Stobæus although he includes other famous passages on love from the *Phædrus* and the *Symposium*, viz. the dissertation on love and the choice of a lover (*Phædrus*, 237 and 238; Stob., Tit. 64; 40, 41, and 42), the story of the Androgyne (*Symp.*, 189; Stob., Tit. 63; 35), and Agathon's description of love (*Symp.*, 195; Stob., Tit. 63; 36); the other significant passage is part of Aspasia's funeral oration as reported by Socrates (*Menex.*, 236 and 237; *Or. fun.* . . . *de M. de N.*, pp. 25 and 26), which is omitted from Stobæus although other passages preceding and following it are included, viz. *Menex.*, 234, 235, 238, 240, 242, 246; Stob., Tit. 50; 16, Tit. 14; 26, Tit. 43; 86, Tit. 1; 91, Tit. 38; 49, Tit. 51; 30, Tit. 9; 30. The passages from Plato quoted by Sainte-Marthe included in Stobæus are: on virtue as easy to the nobly born (*Or. fun.* . . . *de M. de N.*, p. 20; *Alcib.* 120; Stob., Tit. 86; 6), on death as a change from one place to another (*Or. fun.* . . . *de M. de N.*, 115; *Ap. Soc.*, 40; Stob., Tit. 120; 29), on departure from one life to another (*Or. fun.* . . . *de M. de N.*, p. 118; *Phædo*, 67; Stob., Tit. 118; 18), on the improvement of breed as the result of education (*Or. fun.* . . . *de M. de N.*, p. 38; *Rep.*, IV, 420; Stob., Tit. 43; 156), on the advantages of a good instructor of youth (*Or. fun.* . . . *de M. de N.*, p. 40; *Laws*, VI, 766; Stob., Tit. 44; 55), on kings as philosophers (*Or. fun.* . . . *de M. de N.*, p. 41; *Rep.*, V, 473; Stob., Tit. 43; 109), on legislation concerning mourning (*Or. fun.* . . . *de Fr. d'A.*, fol. 44 r°; *Laws*, XII, 959; Stob., Tit. 123; 16), on the treatment of servants (*Or. fun.* . . . *de Fr. d'A.*, fol. 17 v°; *Laws*, VI, 777; Stob., Tit. 62; 52), on the imprisonment of the soul in the body (*Or. fun.* . . . *de M. de N.*, p. 119; *Axiochus*, 365;

on temperance;[1] on virtue and vice as subjects of conversation;[2] on mourning; on disinterestedness in princes; on the relation of education to the improvement of the breed; on the distinctions of birth; on the advantages of funerals,[3] or of good instructors for youth; on the bestowal of merited honor.[4] He is twice appealed to on the subject of death, and yet again on that of the relation of soul and body: "Car, comme dit le divin Platon, combien que nous disons l'Homme estre composé du Corps & de l'Ame, si est ce que sa milleure & plus noble partie c'est l'Ame, participante de la raison & de l'immortalité divine;"[5] and Sainte-Marthe goes on to describe the soul imprisoned in the

Stob., Tit. 121; 38), and on disinterestedness in princes (*Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, p. 89; Rep. V, 462–464; Stob. Tit. 43; 102).

It is of course always possible that Sainte-Marthe used some unknown anthology for the rest of his quotations from Plato, but the abundance of these indicates that he went to the original.

[1] *Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, p. 67; *cf. Rep.*, III, 389 and 390.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 95. Probably a reference to *Rep.*, III, 390.

[3] From Aspasia's funeral oration.

[4] For the references *cf. supra*, p. 388, note 2.

[5] *Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, p. 119.

body. Beauty of body, he writes elsewhere, paraphrasing rather than quoting his author, is the witness to beauty of soul, "comme dit Platon." [1] Plato's quotation from Homer describes righteous anger, and Sainte-Marthe duly reports in another context his famous counsel that republics will be happy when philosophers reign and kings philosophize, and his characterization of the prince as soul of the law.

Sainte-Marthe's allusions to his master's writings are not always clear. When, for instance, he writes of the "vie et reigle domestique que Platon appellè certification & asseurance en un Prince de bien regir & gouverner la republique & ses subjects, & ou aussi la prudence, sagesse et vertu, ou (au contraire) l'imprudence & la corruption de la vie se manifestent," he appears to be paraphrasing a passage in the *Politicus;*[2] when he attributes to Plato the phrase that credulity is the mother of inconstancy, he seems to have but vaguely in mind a chapter of

[1] *Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, p. 120; *Rep.*, IV, 402; Stob., Tit. 65; 18, *Cf.* also *Cratylus*, 416.

[2] *Or. fun. . . . de Fr. d'A.*, fol. 13 v°; *cf. Politicus*, 258 and 259.

the *Demodocus*.[1] This very inaccuracy may be taken as a proof that his mind was stored with the treasures of the *Dialogues*, a thing further evidenced by his obvious recollection of Plato even when he does not name him. For example, the source of a passage on the benefit of funeral orations, in the Oration for the Duchess of Beaumont is easily recognizable. Those who object to such orations are to be questioned on the advantage of statues and images of the dead. Their reply is practically a paraphrase of a passage in the *Menexenus* already used in Sainte-Marthe's previous oration, where Plato is directly quoted: "Je croy qu'ils me diroient (j'entends s'ils ont une seule scintille de jugement) que les morts en sont honnorés, & par cest honneur leurs vertus recompensees: & tant ceuls qui leur touchent de sang, que generalement touts les autres, excités à les ensuivre."[2]

In view of the immense influence which Plato had upon Sainte-Marthe's mind, in view of his constant reference to him as authority,

[1] *Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, p. 97; *Demodocus*, 6.

[2] *Or. fun. . . . de Fr. d'A.*, fol. 19 v°. *Cf. Menex.*, 236 and 237, and *supra*, p. 362.

in view above all of his attempts to give to Christianity a philosophical cast rivaling that of classic literature, it is curious to come upon a passage which ends by expressly dividing Christians and philosophers into separate if not antagonistic groups. The distinction is the more striking for its occurrence in an appeal to Plato and the Scriptures as final authorities on the subject of the value of dreams: "Ceuls qui s'en mocquent," writes Sainte-Marthe, "ou sont avec nous Chrestiens, ou Philosophes, ou du tout Athéistes & sans loy. Que s'ils sont du nombre de ceuls qui ne tiennent grand compte de nostre Religion & la veulent postposer aux traditions des Philosophes, me respondent donc qu'il leur semble de Platon, d'Aristote, de Cicéron, de Valère le Grand, desquels les escripts traictants de telle divination ont esté reçeus de nos prédécesseurs & mis entre nos mains." After the rehearsal of several anecdotes, confirming the significance of dreams, concluding with that of Socrates in prison, Sainte-Marthe continues: "Si le *Platonique* s'efforce de me contraindre à croire cecy, il luy est aussi nécessaire m'accorder celle, qui dist à Marguerite en songe que bien

tost elle seroit couronnée de la couronne qu'elle luy monstreoit, avoir entendu de la couronne de vie qu'elle devoit recevoir après la mort du corps.

"Que si nous avons affaire aux *Chrestiens*, je croy qu'il ne nieront que le Seigneur a accoustumé, quelquefois par songes, quelquefois par d'aultres signes extérieurs, nous faire entendre sa volonté & nous révéler ce qui nous doibt advenir." . . . "Quant est des Epicuriens & Athées . . ., puisqu'ils ostent du tout la divinité à nos Esprits, ils nieront aussi la divination leur estre dehors manifestée, & au dedans divinement enclose; mais les *Philosophes* ne les préféreront a Platon & Socrate, les *Chrestiens*[1] ne les préposeront à l'Escripture Saincte."[2] In his Meditation on the Ninetieth (Ninety-first) Psalm of the same year, Sainte-Marthe, not content with declaring that the philosophers, knowing God through his works, were yet denied the true knowledge of Him since they did not glorify Him, suggests that philosophy is inconsistent with Christianity, leads, in fact, straight to

[1] The italics are my own.

[2] *Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, pp. 105–108.

Atheism "in eum lapidem," (*i.e.* the stone which the builders rejected) "impegere Gentes . . . Judæi . . . Philosophi . . . prudentia Carnis . . . impegit sapienta hujus seculi," etc.[1] "Atheists and hypocrites," he writes elsewhere, "both spread their nets for us; the former the snares of philosophy and the wisdom of this world, the latter those of hypocrisy. Follow those and you will deny God; these and you change truth to lies."[2] Again, the philosopher is classed in one place with Manicheans, Pelagians, Arrians, Jews, idolaters, atheists; in another with Jews, hypocrites, anabaptists, and atheists,[3] and atheists are described as attacking the Christian faith "philosophiæ rationibus tanquam machinis.[4] Such expressions are so far removed from Sainte-Marthe's evident sympathy with philosophy, above all Platonic philosophy, that they must certainly have sprung from a sense of danger, and must have been meant to allay suspicion; and we may conclude that their author felt the increased need for such disclaimers after the publication of the Funeral Oration, and that

[1] Fols. 45 r° and 41 r°.
[2] *Ibid.*, fol. 18 v°.
[3] *Ibid.*, fols. 41 v° and 45 r°.
[4] *Ibid.*, fol. 43 r°.

their added emphasis in the Meditation was due to this.

Such reservations do not, however, in the least conceal Sainte-Marthe's enthusiastic preoccupation with Platonic philosophy, and especially with those particular elements in it which most appealed to his generation, or to that group in it to which he belonged, those elements namely which lend themselves to a mystical point of view. The influence of the Platonic doctrines of love and spiritual aspiration transformed rather than replaced the mystical aspects of Christianity which the Middle Ages had developed. Mysticism played a large part in the religious life of such a man as Sainte-Marthe, and the Platonic philosophy could provide scope for it while freeing it from elements distasteful to a mind touched with the new thought of his time. Sainte-Marthe gives various indications of the influence upon him of the *Dialogues* most favorable to it. Such, for example, is a recollection of the *Phœdo* occurring in a characteristic comparison of Marguerite with the Amazons, equally reminiscent of the classics and the Scriptures.[1]

[1] *Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, pp. 92–94.

The Amazons burnt their right breast; Marguerite cut away, like members of the body, her more dangerous affections;[1] the Amazons handled their horses well, "sçavoient très-bien les contourner, dompter, conduire, & gouverner tant féroces & maulvais fussent ils"; Marguerite, "par raison illuminée & fortifiée de la Foy, a dompté, adoulcy, rengé au frein & humilié ceste partie de l'âme qui est incessament rebelle à l'esprit, qui rue, qui mord son frein, qui reculle à l'espron, qui tousjours répugne." After thus paraphrasing the famous Platonic passage,[2] Sainte-Marthe resorts to the Scriptures for his comparison of Marguerite's amour and conquests with those of the Amazons.[3] He closes, however, on a Platonic note: "Car quiconques obéit aux vices & aux cupiditès, encor qu'il prenne des villes, qu'il amplifie ses Seigneuries & mette soubs sa puissance tant de Royaumes & d'hommes qu'il vouldra, certes il demeure esclave d'une misérable & villaine servitude."[4] Again, death

[1] *Cf. Coloss.* chap. iii, 5.

[2] *Cf. Phædrus*, 253 and 254.

[3] The passage is a not very exact recollection of *Eph.* chap. vi, 11–17.

[4] *Cf. Rep.*, IX, 379.

is for Sainte-Marthe "parfaicte fruition de tout bien,"[1] and he puts this recollection of the *Phædo* into the mouth of the dying Françoise: "Auriés vous regret que je laissasse ce miserable monde, pour avoir fruition de ce bien?"[2]

This particular aspect of Platonic philosophy had, as we have seen, been largely present in Sainte-Marthe's *Poesie Francoise* of ten years earlier; indeed, the conglomeration of Christian and pagan ideas was already a feature of that composition, but its expression was hampered by noticeable immaturity and indecision of utterance. This, time had now improved, and Sainte-Marthe's exposition of his thought in the Orations is incomparably in advance of that in his verse. He had not only the advantage of greater maturity, and a decade's closer acquaintance with the works of his master, but he, who had shown himself but an apprentice in verse forms, had now at his command an instrument which he used with the assured touch of mastery. A single instance will exemplify. The poet had, once at least, dwelt upon the hidden significance

[1] *Or. fun. . . . de Fr. d'A.*, fol. 6 v°.
[2] *Ibid.*, fol. 43 r°; *cf. Phædo*, 67 and 68.

of names in his rondeau addressed to Anne d'Arbigny:

A Madame Anne d'Arbigny Dame de la Val en Daulphiné.

"Nom convenant au cas ou lon l'applique,
Sur aultres noms est le plus magnifique,
Causant aussi tiltre tresvenerable:
C'est ce qui fait, ô Dame tresnotable,
Qu'estes la perle entre toutes unique.

Esprit avez prompt & scientifique,
Bien exerceant les Vertus en practique,
De quoy vous est en honneur perdurable
Nom convenant.

"Ce beau nom Anne en la langue Hebraique,
Interpretons don de Grace autentique,
Chascun le veoy estre en vous admirable,
Parquoy concluds par dict irrefragable,
Que vous avez, sans aulcune replique,
Nom convenant."[1]
— *P. F.*, p. 89.

This is but a cold recollection of the *Cratylus*. It is far from exhibiting the enthusiasm with which Sainte-Marthe paraphrases passages in that dialogue when at the full of his powers he comes to deal with the name of Marguerite.[2] It was, in

[1] *Cf. supra*, p. 58.
[2] *Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, p. 33 *et seq.*

his view, hers by a sort of divine providence of its suitability. When she was to be baptized, the assembled princes and lords held long debate on the name her god-parents should give her. They might, according to the custom of France, have named her Louise or Charlotte, since the greater number of her predecessors were Louis or Charles, in France names of princes; "mais le plaisir de Dieu fut luy faire bailler nom qui repondroit aux graces futures en elle." Here Sainte-Marthe gives full rein to his Platonic mysticism. Such Providence might appear ridiculous to some, the dream or the delusion of old women, for at first blush it is not credible that Celestial Divinities — "les Dieus Célestes" is the significant phrase — should concern themselves about mortal names. Again, it may be absurd to suppose that there is any mystery hidden in proper names, since they are rather bestowed at the pleasure of god-parents than for any religious sense understood and hidden within them; but, if "le divin philosophe Platon" deserves credence, — and here Sainte-Marthe follows his authority more closely, — though names be often given from those of ancestors,

or, like that of Theophilus, to express a wish, still, some are more mysteriously bestowed, "institués plus par une occulte providence et disposition divine que par la délibération & puissance humaine." For since, as Plato says, a name is like a painting, imitation or instrument by which the substances of things are pointed out and distinguished, then surely he who gives names should call things by names proper and suitable, which is not the part of the inexperienced nor is common to all, but is rather the work of Divinity. Had not the observances of names been a mystery to the ancients "comme religieuse & sacrosancte aux Anciens ainsi qu'une chose couverte & adumbrée de grands et profonds mystères," [1] Homer would assuredly not have labored to suit names to things nor named Agamemnon for suffering, travail and trouble, Orestes for a sylvan nature, Atreus for inexorability, Tantalus for infelicity.[2] Having thus dwelt upon the appropriateness of the queen's name, Sainte-Marthe takes up the subject of the

[1] *Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, p. 35.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 35. *Cf. Cratylus*, esp. 388, 390, 391, 394, 395, 397, 423, 424, 431.

pearl it signified; and, while, in dealing with it, he leaves Plato for Pliny and illustrates anew his double indebtedness to the ancients and the scriptures, a mystical element remains noticeably present, especially in the analogies which he draws at the end between the character of the queen and the pearl.

Beginning with a quotation from Pliny on the subject of pearls,[1] he confirms it by Christ's comparison of the kingdom of God to a pearl and adds St. Augustine's variations upon this.[2] Thereupon he makes reference to common custom, illustrated as it was by one of his own phrases in his rondeau to Anne d'Arbigny: "Les François en leur langue nomment la Marguerite 'Perle' & la chose perfaicte en toute perfection & estimée n'avoir sa pareille, ils appellent une 'Perle.'" This he follows by a short passage on the medicinal value of pearls drawn from

[1] *Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.* The translation is from Pliny, IX, 56: "que Pline dit emporter l'honneur & le pris sur toutes choses précieuses & havoir perfection en blancheur, grandeur, rotondité & pois," etc.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 35 *et seq.* The quotation is from St. Augustine, *Ex quæst. Matthei*, Patr. Lat., Vol. XXXV, cols. 1371 and 1372.

one of the mediæval lapidaries,[1] returns without

[1] "Les Médecins donnent des grandes vertus aux Marguerites, lesquelles nous ne réciterons présentement par leur noms & ordre, car seroit chose trop ennui[eu]se pour la prolixité, mais nous en parlerons briefvement d'aulcunes. Les Marguerites & Perles servent de souverain remède au mal de cœur & à tout évanouissement, & pource l'on dit qu'elles confortent & fortifient les esprits. Or, à quelles personnes les esprits défaillent plus qu'à ceuls qui sont agités d'adversité & ne veoient aulcun port où se puissent tirer à saulveté? Marguerite devoit estre le divin instrument et organe par lequel le Dieu de consolation réconforteroit les affligés. Les Perles sont grandement utiles contre l'humeur mélancolique, dont surviennent maintes pernicieuses & mortelles maladies; Marguerite devoit estre illustrée par le Seigneur de Royalle dignité, de grandeur d'auctorité & d'abondance de biens de fortune pour secourir & soullager tous pauvres nécessiteus & indigents, & tous ceuls qui seroient en tribulation d'esprit. Les Perles proffitent singulièrement aux nerfs des œils, deseichent leurs humeurs, nettoient leur ordure & éclarcissent la veue; en Marguerite devoit estre la main de Celuy qui tire les souffreteus hors de la fange," etc. *Or. fun. . . . de Marguerite de Navarre*, p. 36 *et seq.* These qualities of the pearl are enumerated in the first French translation of the Latin lapidary of Marbodius, in other respects a garbled version of Pliny. Nothing of the sort occurs in the original of Marbodius, nor in the three other translations published by M. Pannier.

"Cuntre gute corel est bone
Et cuntre tac ke naist en ume.
Cuntre mal d'oilz est sa nature," etc. ll. 873–875.
—L. Pannier, *Les lapidaires français du moyen age des XII^e^, XIII^e^, & XIV^e^ siecles*, p. 65.

acknowledgement to Pliny, whom he translates almost verbatim,[1] and makes between the qualities of Marguerite, and those of the pearl, as

[1] "Encor adjouteray je que les Perles naissent dans la mair & se trouvent en la mair; toutefois elles hont plus grande société avec le ciel qu'avec la mair." "Ex eo quippe constare coelique eis majorem societatem esse quam maris." "Il fault aussi soigneusement contregarder les perles affin qu'elles ne perdent leur plaisante blancheur." "Usu atteri non dubium est coloremque indiligentia mutare." *Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, p. 37, Pliny, IX, 54 and 56.

"L'on doit pareillement prendre bonne garde que les Perles ne trempent aulcunement en vinaigre, car bien tost se résouldroient en liqueur." Here Sainte-Marthe is evidently indebted to Pliny's account of the incident of Cleopatra and the pearl: "Ex præcepto ministri unum tantum vas ante eam posuere aceti, cujus asperitas visque in tabem Margaritas resolvit." *Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, p. 38, Pliny, IX, 58.

This is not the only time Sainte-Marthe borrows from Pliny without naming him. Elsewhere (*Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, p. 109) he writes of the death of the queen, "car comme celuy qui porte en un anneau une précieuse emeraude, quoy qu'en la regardant elle remplisse ses œils & ne les puisse saouller, si est ce qu'il ne congnoit quel proffit luy porte sa gratieuse verdeur jusques à ce qu'elle soit saillie hors de son œuvre, car lors, ne veoiant plus cest object qui luy recréoit ses œils, il regrette la pierre perdue, dont ne tenoit grand compte quand il l'havoit à son plaisir." It is clear that Sainte-Marthe here had in mind the passage in Pliny on the emerald: "Nullius coloris aspectus jucundior est. Nam

described in the latter two sources, one of those favorite seriatim comparisons parodied by Rabelais in Lasdaller's exposition of the Twenty-fourth Psalm.[1] He finds analogies between the queen's purity, grandeur and consistency, and the whiteness, size and roundness of the pearl; between her aid to the downcast and afflicted, and its supposed stimulating powers; between her usefulness to the poor in tribulation, and its avail against melancholy humors; between her divine gift of drawing the unfortunate from the mire, and the cleansing effect of the pearl upon the eye. Again, he compares pearls, born in the sea yet allied to the sky, to the woman born in the world yet aspiring to heaven; between the immaculate pearl and the queen unspotted by pleasure; between the

herbas quoque virentes frondesque avide spectamus: smaragdos vero tanto libentius quoniam nihilo omnino viridius comparatum illis viret. Præterea soli gemmarum contuitu oculos implent, nec satient. Quin et ab intentione alia obscurata, aspectu smaragdi recreatur acies. Scalpentibus gemmas non alia gratior oculorem refectio est: ita viridi lenitate lassitudinem mulcent." Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, XXXVII, 16. And *cf.* also *infra*, pp. 456, 569, 570, 571, and 573.

[1] *Cf. Œuvres*, Vol. I, p. 143.

care needful to protect the pearl from stain, and the education of Marguerite; between the effect of vinegar on the pearl, and her modest, humane manners.[1] The reader is tempted, for all Sainte-Marthe's eloquence, to smile at his efforts to justify by strained comparisons the Platonic theory with which he embarked upon the subject.

The passage on the pearl, however, has another interest. It shows its author for once the complete man of his time rather than the mere enthusiastic humanist. Here classical knowledge, mediæval tradition, Christian learning, and the sense of contemporary life all play their part. Reference to the habits of his time, as in the allusion to vernacular usage, has its interest in view of Sainte-Marthe's usual absorption with the ancients, the Scriptures, and the fathers, his all but slavish reliance upon authority for argument. Such appeals to experience, though uncommon compared with his more frequent reference to authority, are sufficiently present in Sainte-Marthe's Orations to throw light for his readers upon the life of his time;

[1] *Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, p. 38.

and several of his descriptive passages, also, give a lively picture of his own *entourage*. For instance, son and brother as he was of distinguished physicians, Sainte-Marthe, naturally, displays the interest of his time and of his mistress in hygiene and pathology.[1] He quotes the recommendations of the doctors as to meals,[2] notes the treatment of lethargic patients,[3] and refers in true Rabelaisian style to those who "assomés de lethargie perdent la memoire, à raison de la pituite froide et humide qui occupe les posterieurs ventricules du cerveau."[4] Whatever the

[1] "Elle devisoit donc, à son disner & soupper, tantost de Médecine comme des viandes mal saines ou salubres au corps humain, et des choses naturelles, avec les sieurs Schyron, Cormier, Esterpin, ses Médecins trèsexperts & trèsdoctes, qui soigneusement la regardoient boire & menger, comme l'on observe en cela les Princes." *Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, p. 69.

[2] "Elle n'ignoroit les Médecins ordonner que, quand nous délibérons mettre à table, nostre esprit doibt estre libre & depouillé de tout ennuy & solicitude, & que nos viandes ne doivent moins estre confites de propos joyeus & récréatifs que de sel, ou d'aultres saulse provocante l'appetit." *Ibid.*, p. 68.

[3] "Comme il fault bastre & pinser le lethargique pour l'eveiller; ainsi leur fault comme par force faire entendre leur dommage." *Or. fun. de Fr. d'A.*, fol. 7 r°.

[4] *Ibid.*

value of this diagnosis may be, it is at least a step towards reality in a man whose chief notion of tigers, for example, is that music maddens them,[1] or whose reference to so common a thing as the defensive power of animals is drawn — the reader must infer it from the inclusion of "porc-espic" and "narcé" — from classic sources.[2]

Again, his glance at the vices of the age, gaming, dissolute pomp and the "gouffre des bastiments," gives, as it were in a flash, the seamy side of Renaissance magnificence,[3] and his reference to the sweat of the poor, at whose expense the rich loaded their tables, even strikes a note seldom heard in the sixteenth century: "Qui es ce qui doubte qu'elle n'eust peu remplir son ventre de viandes exquises, délicates, précieuses & cerchées par mair & par terre, reluire de toutes parts d'or & de pierrerie &, ce que font plusieurs, réparer son corps & charger sa table des sueurs d'aultruy?"[4] Elsewhere his satirical sketch of the occupations of the ladies, as of the conversation of the gentlemen of his time,

[1] *Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, pp. 42 and 78.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 57.
[3] *Or. fun. . . . Fr. d'A.*, fol. 30 r°.
[4] *Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, p. 67.

shows the former passing the days "en oisiveté & vaines parolles," the latter concerned with war, the chase, vengeance and bloodshed or the trifles of love. "Qu'appelleras tu choses graves?" he asks such an one, "Je croy que sera de confire les disners & les souppers des faicts de la guerre, des armes, des bardes de chevauls, de la chase, de la vollerie, de banquets, de boubans, d'amours, de blasphêmes, de vengeance, d'effusions de sang, de mettres les hommes en pièces, et de semblables nobles et vertueux propos." [1]

This censorious note is common in Sainte-Marthe's treatment of contemporary conditions. In the course of his Orations, the venality of offices,[2] the routine of courts,[3] are held up to scorn, the circumstances of attendance on the great bitingly set forth.[4] There are nobles, he writes, glad enough to number in their households learned and able men, perhaps of inferior birth, but it is another matter to honor their

[1] *Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, p. 71.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 85–86.

[3] *Ibid., passim; Or. fun. . . . Fr. d'A., passim*, esp. fols. 14 r°, 19 r° and 31 v°.

[4] *Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, p. 83 *et seq.*

virtues, and often no more account is made of them than of muleteers or kitchen scullions. A page or two further on Sainte-Marthe continues the subject with a passion which recalls that of Areusa's arraignment of mistresses in the *Celestina*.[1] There are masters who consider their servants not as free men but as slaves and beasts, who, having not only used, but abused, their service, think too much done for their dependents if they have merely given them food and drink, and that but as may chance. And, suppose wages agreed on, when the poor wretches ask that reward of their diligence, labor and service, which their wages in fact are, they get but ill for good from ingrates who outrage, beat and abuse them.[2]

Sainte-Marthe was not the first in France to voice this wrong. Eustorg de Beaulieu had been beforehand with him in making such complaint[3] of what was apparently a crying evil of the

[1] *La Célestine*, Nouvelle Collection Jannet, p. 136. Four or five editions of a translation through the Italian had appeared by 1550; *i.e.* 1524, 1527, Paris; 1529, Lyons; 1529, Paris; 1542, Paris.

[2] *Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, p. 87.

[3] *Cf. Divers Rapportz. Rondeaux.*

times; but Sainte-Marthe had already in the *Poésie françoise* anticipated the older poet in resentment of another, and kindred abuse, in denouncing the arrogance of the upstart noble:

> "Monsieur de tiltre & un villain de faict,
> Tel qu'aujourdhuy par argent on le faict."[1]

In both *Funeral Orations* he returns to this attack with a fire suggesting a personal grievance. If a great lady like the Duchess of Beaumont was humble, what should be the feelings of those "messieurs engentillastrés," descended from notaries and shoemakers, or grooms and scullions, who call others "villein," despise and repulse them? Defense of Marguerite's habit of surrounding herself with "gens de longue robbe & de bonnet rond" betrays the personal animus which guided Sainte-Marthe's pen. With whom should she converse? With such nobles as her critic? Prudent and learned nobles there were, of course, but Sainte-Marthe means a gang of bullies and bravos, of whom to ask their opinion of letters, prudence, council or the government of the republic, were to ask the

[1] *Elegie, A Monsieur Veruist, Doyen de Macon. De la vraye Noblesse. P. F.*, p. 217.

blind to see, the deaf to hear, the dumb to speak, or from a marble statue counsel and sage deliberation. But what of those "gownsmen?"[1] Are they "villeins"? But, if they have both titles of nobility at once, yea, if they are of noble and ancient race and house, and therewithal illustrious and splendid in virtue, shall they be declared no longer noble because they wear gowns? What of the gownsmen who founded the Roman republic, etc.?[2] The obvious vanity is the more pardonable that, as we have noted before, pique heightened Sainte-Marthe's powers, and inspired him to eloquence.

"O Seigneur Dieu," thus he takes up the same subject elsewhere, "si un tas de glorieux & superbes Nobles du jourd'huy pouvoient nombrer ainsi par ordre les rengs & lignes de leurs Ancestres, par quel moyen pourroit estre leur impudente violence arrestée & abbatue? Qui dureroit devant euls? Ils sont peut estre descendus de Porchiers, de Cousturiers, de Chaussetiers ou d'aultres gents méchaniques, &

[1] "Robbes longues."

[2] *Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, pp. 71 *et seq.*

encor de plus vile et plus abjecte condition, & sont les premiers du Nom, je dy les premiers Nobles de leur race. Nobles, dy je, à bon et loyal tiltre, Dieu le sçait; ce néantmoins ils hont le cœur si orgueilleus & si enflé, & sont tant coustumiers de mespriser toutes personnes qu'ils cuident qu'il n'y ait hommes qu'euls. Mais ceuls qui sont illustres d'ancienne noblesse, extérieurement, je dy à leurs mœurs & façon de faire, monstrent assés leur noblesse, car ils hont en euls je ne sçay quoy d'une bonté naifve, qui, les sépare manifestment de la férocité des fauls nobles. Et comme, si tu dores un vaisseau de cuivre, pour un certain temps il haura bien la couleur de l'or, mais à la longue la dorure se consume & efface, en sorte que le cuivre demeure & apparoit nud; ou, si ce vaisseau est de pur or, plus l'accommoderas à ton usage & service, plus il reluira, & plus beau & plus fin apparoistra l'or. Ainsi, tous ceuls qui faulsement se ventent du tiltre de Noblesse, quoy qu'il tarde, découvrent à la fin par leurs mœurs & conditions leur villennie & lacheté à ceuls avec lesquels ils conversent; mais les vrays Nobles monstrent, à la fréquentation

extérieure, l'intérieure noblesse & expriment leur générosité, tant en faicts qu'en parolles."[1]

Sainte-Marthe's concern in the interests of his day, as shown by his share in the controversy on the question of woman, has already been noted. The discussion in general focused upon the subject of her worthiness or unworthiness rather than upon that of her position and privileges. The suggestions of Erasmus on the latter aspect of the question had, on the whole, not fructified. We may, then, regard as an advance upon the ordinary defense of the sex, Sainte-Marthe's eloquent plea for the right of woman to education and learning. He made it in reply to those who, like others before them, considered learning not meant for women, "aliène de l'office & estat de la femme."[2] Sainte-Marthe, indeed, differs from his master Plato in considering that certain activities, such as the conduct of an army, the government of a republic, or public speaking belong only to man, while others, keeping the house, caring for their husbands, and having an eye on their establishment, are the

[1] *Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, p. 32.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 76 *et seq.*

proper function of women. Still, no one can deny, he continues, "s'il n'a du tout perdu le sens, le jugement & la raison," that other matters are common to both, such as strength and magnanimity, justice, temperance, continence, religion and generally all the other virtues. If this be so, he asks, why should woman not be allowed to draw from the common fountain, common to them and all men? If those who read philosophy and consider the Holy Scriptures to learn thence integrity of morals, are held to be good, wise and prudent, why should we forbid women to read the same books? To clinch the argument, Sainte-Marthe gives a list of the learned women of antiquity,[1] and, since other names than these are needed to support his plea that women should not be denied the reading of the Scriptures as if it were impious and intolerable in them to talk of what men arrogate to themselves "plus par auctorité tirannique que de droit et de raison,"[2] he cites the examples of Catherine of Sienna and Hildegarde of Germany, as of Fabia, Marcella and Eustochia, correspondents of St. Jerome.

[1] Cf. *supra*, p. 375, n. 2.

[2] *Or. fun. de Marguerite de Navarre*, p. 79.

There was no singularity in Sainte-Marthe's views of women other than the warmth of his plea for her enlightenment. He could indeed write with respect of famous women of antiquity, "illustres Amazons," for instance, "qui, par leur virile courage & leurs excellent, preeus & magnanimes gestes, se sont donné une éternelle renommé,"[1] or speak of heroines and the virtues which had won them repute and immortal fame; still more, could he admire in a woman of his own time the "heroic and virile heart that led her to prefer to pass her time in pursuits worthy of a man;"[2] but, though he may have cherished an ideal in some sort fulfilled by the Queen of Navarre, Sainte-Marthe's conception of woman as she actually was differed little from that of the men of his time.

His eagerness for her enlightenment, indeed, he shared with a far greater mind, not to be credited with defense or admiration of the sex, and yet also captivated, at least at a given moment, by the prospect of woman nobly trained. Rabelais's dream of Thelema, where "il n'estoit entre eux celuy, ne celle qui ne sceust

[1] *Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, p. 92. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 76.

lire, escripre, chanter, iouer d'instruments harmonieux, parler de cinq & six langaiges, & en iceulx composer tant en carme que en oraison solue," and where "iamais ne feurent veues dames tant propres, tant mignonnes, moins fascheuses, plus doctes à la main, à l'agueille, à tout acte muliebre honneste & libere, que là estoient,"[1] seems to echo Sainte-Marthe's plea for feminine education. Yet, in their general conception of woman, these two, man of genius and man of talent, personal enemies it may be, and, in any case, little sympathetic in spirit, are united in indorsing the common view of their day. How can a woman, asks Sainte-Marthe, referring to the loss of Françoise d'Alençon, "how can a woman have laid under obligation the whole of France? No otherwise than as a fruitful tree, a fecund mare, a spreading stream, benefits its owner, as all the mothers of great men have benefited their country, by conceiving and bearing them, as the original source of whose usefulness they should be forever honored.[2] Again, condemning those who hold their wives in such

[1] *Œuvres*, Vol. I, p. 206.

[2] *Or. fun. . . . de Fr. d'A.*, fol. 35 v°–36 v°.

servitude that they dare not cough before them, the orator yet feels it proper for a woman, as St. Paul recommends, to keep silence in her husband's presence, and to speak, according to Plutarch's precept, only with and through him, and he especially commends in Marguerite her wifely obedience and submission. "Mais la très-prudente Royne sçavoit bien l'office d'une bonne & vertueuse femme, qui est de ne contester avec son mary par caquetterie, mais, comme dit S. Paul, se taire en sa présence &, si elle veult aprendre quelque chose, l'interroger. Et, ores que S. Paul n'en auroit onc parlé, si avoit elle leu en Pleutarche que la femme doibt parler avec son mari & par son mari & non se courroucer si elle parle par la bouche d'aultruy, ainsi que fait le menestrier.

"Elle eust bien peu avec d'aulcunes caquetter devant son mari; elle eust peu luy rompre propos quand il eust parlé; elle eust peu usurper son auctorité; elle eust peu contredire à son commandement, mais le recognoissant avec Sara comme son seigneur, l'honoroit, luy obéissoit comme à son chef; je d'y qu'elle gaigneoit sa grâce & s'i entretenoit par toute humilité & obéis-

sance. Quand il commandeoit quelque chose si tost ne l'avoit dit qu'il estoit faict, car jamais ne lui contredisoit & tant l'aimeoit qu'elle n'a craint d'entretenir so grâce à son détriment & dommage."[1] All this corresponds with Rabelais's presentment of the virtuous woman taught to cleave only to her husband. ". . . le cherir, le seruir, totalement l'aymer apres Dieu. . . . Car comme le mirouoir est dict bon et perfaict, non celluy qui plus est orné de dorures et pierreries, mais celluy qui veritablement repræsente les formes obiectes: aussi celle femme n'est la plus à estimer, laquelle seroit riche, belle, elegante, extraicte de noble race; mais celle qui plus s'efforce auecques Dieu soy former en bonne grace & conformer aux meurs de son mary."[2] Sainte-Marthe's omission, too, of all mention of a mother's educative influence in the passage on the conception and birth of great men, well befits an author who, praising the work of the Queen of Navarre, adorned "de telle vénusté & de si profonde & abundante doctrine," adds that the reader would never suppose he were

[1] *Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, p. 73 *et seq.*
[2] *Œuvres*, Vol. II, p. 148 *et seq.*

reading the composition of a woman but of "quelque trèsgrave & trèsingénieus auteur,"[1] who writes of Françoise as "ce feminin & fragile vaisseau,"[2] and who no more forgot the poet's "varium et mutabile"[3] than had Rabelais before him when treating of that sex "tant fragil, tant variable, tant muable, tant inconstant & imperfaict que nature me semble (parlant en tout honneur & reuerence) s'estre esguarée de ce bon sens par lequel elle auoit créé & formé toutes choses quand elle a basty la femme."[4]

Another movement of his time, concerned with education, keenly interested Sainte-Marthe, and here, too, he meets Rabelais on a common ground. He deplores the defects of the instruction of the period, which he perceived "au trèsgrand regret & dommage tant de nous que de la République," to be most corrupt, pernicious and detestable. If parents would do away with such and follow the method of the Persians, "de maulvais & depravés esprits ils en feroient

[1] *Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, p. 80.

[2] *Or. fun. . . . de Fr. d'A.*, fol. 32 v°.

[3] *Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, p. 97. "Car il fault havoir egard au sexe, que le Poëte appelle variable & muable, & S. Pierre escrit que c'est un vaisseau fragil & infirme."

[4] *Œuvres*, Vol. II, p. 157.

de bons, & ceuls qui de leur naturelle inclination sont bons, ils rendroient meilleurs."[1] Rabelais, who also had his word of admiration for the Persians,[2] had, some sixteen years earlier,[3] declared his opinion of the books and teachers of his time, whose "sçavoir n'estoit que besterie, & leur sapience n'estoit que moufles, abastardisant les bons & nobles esperitz, & corrompent toute fleur de ieunesse."[4] The description of the education of the Queen of Navarre, enthusiastically interpreted by Sainte-Marthe, reads like a page from Rabelais's account of the ideal education of Pantagruel, especially taken in conjunction with Marguerite's table conversation in later life and her panegyrist's remark on the subject: "Somme il n'y avoit un seul moment d'heure qui ne fust par elle emploié à tous propos honnestes, delectables & utiles;"[5]

[1] *Cf. Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, p. 38.

[2] *Œuvres*, Vol. II, p. 34.

[3] Professor C. H. Page, the latest editor of Urquhart's Rabelais, somewhat doubtfully places the date of the earliest edition of *Gargantua*, following Brunet, between 1534 and 1535; *Rabelais*, p. xliv. And *cf. Œuvres de Rabelais* (Marty-Laveaux), Vol. VI, p. 323.

[4] *Œuvres*, Vol. I, p. 59.

[5] *Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, p. 69.

"Ceste noble donc et sage Dame ne laissa celle qui luy estoit bailée en charge (Marguerite) estre dissolue par voluptés, abandonnée à superfluités & vains boubans, ne corrompue de parolles oisifves & deshonnestes, qui est, de nostre temps, l'institution presque de tous les grands Seigneurs, mais prudemment l'occupa à tous louables & vertueus exercices, dignes du nom & tiltre de Princesse et d'une future Royne: Aussi luy furent baillés des domestiques Précepteurs, hommes bien expérimentés en maintes bonnes choses, prudents et excellents en toutes manières de Science &, pour dire en somme, tels que les Philosophes requièrent trouver aux Courts des Princes & aux Maisons des Seigneurs au lieu d'un tas de flatteurs, de fols et de gens du tout inutiles." [1]

There are other subjects on which Rabelais and Sainte-Marthe were in accord. Rabelais, before Sainte-Marthe, had made allusion, jocular, it is true, to the mystical significance of names; both agreed on the prophetic value of dreams;[2]

[1] *Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, pp. 40–41. *Cf.* Rabelais, *Garganiua*, Chap. XXIII, *Œuvres*, Vol. I.

[2] Rabelais, *Quart Livre*, Chap. XXXVII; *Tiers Livre*, Chap. XIII; *Œuvres*, Vol. I.

both referred in this connection to Socrates' interpretation of the lines from Homer as indicating his own approaching death, though Rabelais actually used this as authority for the Virgilian lots, Sainte-Marthe as proof of the import of dreams.[1] And, in this connection, Rabelais no less than Sainte-Marthe brackets the Scriptures and classics together, "les sacres lettres le tesmoignent les histoires prophanes l'asœurent."[2] Plato's saying on king-philosophers or philosopher-kings impressed both;[3] and both dwell upon the need of self-rule in him who would govern others.[4] But such similarities are almost negligible in view of the body of Rabelais's work. It is more surprising that two authors, each steeped in the classics, each presumably drawing from the same sources, should

[1] It will be remembered that Rabelais represents Socrates as "oyant en prison reciter ce metre de Homere dict de Achilles 9. Iliad." *Œuvres*, Vol. II, p. 54. Sainte-Marthe gives the true account of the vision "Socrate en Platon, estant prisonnier veit en dormant une trèsbelle femme qui l'ayant appellé par son nom lui dist ce vers d'Homère." *Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, p. 106.

[2] *Œuvres*, Vol. II, p. 67.

[3] *Cf. supra*, p. 391, and Rabelais, *Œuvres*, Vol. I, p. 168.

[4] *Cf. supra*, p. 386, and Rabelais, *Œuvres*, Vol. I, p. 189.

have fallen upon so few common allusions, than that men so temperamentally different should have shared a few common views. Their differences appear especially in the effect upon them of Plato's philosophy. Sainte-Marthe's idol and his doctrines are, on the whole, referred to by Rabelais with a smile,[1] and this divergence is indicative of others. Despite the points mentioned on which they coincided, we may conclude that Sainte-Marthe probably owed little or nothing to Rabelais as regards subject-matter.

He appears, nevertheless, to have read him well, for, involuntarily it would seem, his own work shows the impress made upon him by the force and vitality of Rabelais' style. For example, the trick of enumeration which the latter employs with such verve and power is to be found many times in Sainte-Marthe's prose, as when he writes of the "rémunérations constituées aux vertueux & heroïques faicts, comme les couronnes, les triumphes, les trophées, les images & statues, les magistrats, les dignités & aultres pareils honneurs," or asks elsewhere, "Où est celuy, si ce n'est un homme de tout aliéné d'humanité,

[1] *Cf.* for example, *Œuvres*, Vol. II, pp. 22, 27, 31, 150.

qui ne prise, qui n'aime, qui ne révère la candeur, la charité, la pieté de ceste tant libérale, tant magnifique & tant vertueuse Royne?"[1] Perhaps the best examples of the many which might be adduced are those occurring in the account of the queen's grief on the death of her son. Here the art lies in heightening the description with every clause: "Mais, où presque toutes les femmes en telle fortune accusent le Ciel, mauldissent la Mort, remplissent l'air de hurlements & vaines plainctes &, du tout faillies de courage, demeurent ainsi que mortes, estonnées & stupides, Marguerite ouit la triste nouvelle de la mort de son fils de cœur constant & asseuré. . . . Cela certes semble chose inaudite & inacoustumée à ceuls qui jugent grande injure estre faicte aux trespassés si les vivants ne sont vestus de noir, ne se tourmentent de deuil, ne frappent leur poictrine, ne s'arrachent les cheveuls, ne se deffont eulxmesmes d'impatience & de désepoir."[2] The reader is tempted, also, to attribute to unconscious recollection of Rabelais such expressions as "un mespris des,

[1] *Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, pp. 24 and 89.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 50.

choses basses & terrestres," "les vertueux & héroïques faicts de tous ces Roys & Princes," "la dehontée loquacité des gents de nulle valeur."[1] The resemblance is no less evident for consisting in matters so general as the rhythm of the sentence, or the amalgamation of French and Latin words into a native idiom clearly removed from the classical, as in the description of those "qui ont esté aveuglés de pareille cécité & sont tumbés en mesme fosse d'erreur & témérité,"[2] or in Sainte-Marthe's account of himself, "Qui ne suis exubérant en resonantes parolles & n'ay abondance de sentences copieuses."[3] It is, however, in his nobler and more soaring passages that the orator most betrays his debt to the author of *Pantagruel*. One striking example may suffice. Sainte-Marthe is describing the goodness of God, "lequel nous rend toutes les heures du jour, manifeste tesmoinage de sa misericorde & liberalite, ne punissant ceuls qui l'offensent de la rigueur de sa justice, mais les admonnestant se recoignoistre & amender, les attendant venir à penitence,

[1] *Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, pp. 31, 57, and 77.
[2] *Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, p. 77.
[3] *Or. fun. . . . de Fr. d'A.*, fols. 42 v° and 30 v°.

& les recevant amoureusement, & leur pardonnant tresbenignement, quand ils implorent la pitie: commandant pour nous, au ciel, à la terre, & aux mers, nous produire ce qui est necessaire à nostre vie."[1] Such a passage carries the reader back to more than one eloquent outburst in *Pantagruel*; as, for example: "N'est ce honorer le seigneur, createur, protecteur, seruateur? N'est ce le recongnoistre vnicque dateur de tout bien? N'est ce nous declairer tous dependre de sa benignité? Rien sans luy n'estre, rien ne valoir, rien ne pouoir: si sa saincte grace n'est sus nous infuse? N'est ce mettre exception canonicque à toutes nos entreprinses? & tout ce que proposons remettre à ce que sera disposé par sa saincte volunté, tant es cieulx comme en la terre? N'est ce veritablement sanctifier son benoist nom?"[2]

Since his *Funeral Orations* show such traces of the influence upon his style of a man with whom Sainte-Marthe had few or no affinities, still clearer evidence might be expected in them of the impress of authors for whom he professed

[1] *Or. fun. . . . de Fr. d'A.*, fol. 22 r°.
[2] *Œuvres*, Vol. II, p. 148.

admiration. Yet Calvin left no mark, and Marguerite of Navarre but a slight one, upon Sainte-Marthe's prose. We have seen with what eagerness Sainte-Marthe looked forward to the perusal of the *Christianae Religionis Institutio*, whose strong effect upon his theology is even more evident in the *Poesie Francoise* and the Paraphrases than in the Funeral Orations. Yet the vigorous, compact, logical style of Calvin's prose has left not the slightest trace upon Sainte-Marthe's. Apart from temperamental divergences between the two men, which no admiration could bridge, and which, in spite of the paucity of models, must have rendered abortive any attempt at imitation on Sainte-Marthe's part, there may have been a practical obstacle. Judging by his letter to Calvin,[1] Sainte-Marthe undoubtedly read the Latin version as soon as he could get access to it, and may, therefore, have remained unacquainted with the French. With the unpublished *Heptameron*, on the other hand, it would be natural to suppose Sainte-Marthe familiar. In spite of its author's sympathetic account of the Dauphin's literary project from

[1] *Cf. supra*, p. 42.

which he barred out the learned and "ne voulloyt que leur art y fut meslé, & aussi de paour que la beaulté de la rhétorique feit tort en quelque partye à la vérité de l'histoire,"[1] it remains in general likely that she would consult, about literary work that occupied her mind, the men of letters in her court. One motive of abstinence suggests itself, however, and that a compelling one. The Queen of Navarre may well have doubted whether the philosophical weight of the discussions in the *Heptaméron* would outbalance the lightness of many of its plots in the minds of men who, like Sainte-Marthe, regarded her principally as the leader in a spiritual movement; as

> "un déesse femme.
> Femme, laquelle au monde converseoit,
> Mais qui, d'esprit, femme n'apparaissoit."[2]

Even if acquainted with it, however, Sainte-Marthe probably regarded the *Heptaméron* a work which the Queen composed, as Brantôme has it, "en ses gayettez," as unworthy of serious

[1] *Heptaméron, Prologue,* Vol. I, p. 247.

[2] *Or. fun . . . de M. de N.,* ed. 1550, Dedication, fol. Aiij. v°.

consideration, and, for whatever cause, he makes not the slightest allusion to it when dealing with the Queen of Navarre's "Œuvres & Méditations."[1] Its philosophical ideas, which might have struck him, were already, if less expressively, present in Marguerite's earlier poems, and he had little to learn from it in that regard; he was probably incapable of feeling, certainly of emulating, its delicate humor; and the completeness of its presentment of contemporary life, even if he had apprehended it, was not a thing to be consciously imitated in funeral orations. If Sainte-Marthe owes anything to the *Heptaméron* it is as a model of picturesque and convincing narrative; and here he may be said to have equalled if he did not surpass its author.

A fair example of his power in this direction, showing his selection of the most telling details, his skilful use of direct quotation, and the sense of movement which he succeeds in conveying, is his account of the hurried journey, already referred to, taken by Marguerite on hearing of her child's sickness. Its beauty must excuse

[1] *Or. fun . . . de M. de N.*, pp. 79 and 80.

its repetition here in spite of its comparative accessibility in Montaiglon's text:[1]

"Mais je vous veuls encores dire un aultre exemple de rare pieté, force & constance, qui se trouve en Marguerite; car comme sa fille Jheanne estoit trèsgrièvement malade en la royalle Maison de Plessis lès Tours, & le bruict fust à la Court, èstant lors à Paris, que ceste bonne Princesse tendoit à la mort, la vertueuse mère Marguerite, sur les quatres heures du soir, commanda luy admener sa lectière, disant qu'elle vouloit aller vers sa fille & que chascun des siens délibérast de partir. Il n'y avoit rien prest; les Officiers & serviteurs estoient absents & équartés, tant par la ville de Paris que par les villages; il estoit desjà basse heure, car ce fut au plus courts jours: le temps estoit aussi contraire pour la pluye, et ne sa lectière ne ses mulets de coffres n'estoient là auprès. Cela veoiant, la courageuse Royne emprunta la lectière de Madame Marguerite, sa niepce, se met dedans &, contente de petite compaignie, déloge de Paris et s'en va jusques au Bourg la Royne.

[1] *L'Heptaméron des Nouvelles de . . . Marguerite . . . de Navarre.* The *Or. fun.* comprises pp. 23–130, of Vol. I.

"Quand ils furent là venus, ne s'en alla descendre à son logis, ains alla tout droit à l'Eglise, où, ainsi qu'elle vouloit entrer, dict aux assistants que le cœur luy signifieoit je ne sçay quoy de la mort de sa fille, & les priea tous affectueusement se retirer &, pour une petite heure, la laisser seule au Temple. Tous luy obéissent &, en grand ennuy, attendent leur maistresse à la porte de l'Eglise. La Séneschalle de Poictou,[1] trèsfidèle Dame & trèssoigneuse de Marguerite, entra seule avec elle.

"Estant Marguerite entrée, se met à genoils devant l'image de Jésus crucifié, fait à Dieu prière du profond du cœur; elle souspire, elle pleure, elle luy confesse toutes ses offenses & tourne sur elle la seule cause de la maladie de sa fille, demande trèshumblement pardon & supplie que la santé de la malade lui soit octroiée mais c'estoit avec condition si l'entérinement de sa requeste estoit à l'une & l'aultre nécessaire, sçaichant bien que la volunté de Dieu doibt estre tout demandée. . . .

* * * * *

[1] Louise de Dallou, wife of André de Vivonne, Seneschal of Poitou. She was Brantôme's grandmother.

Marguerite, après sa prière faicte, se lève, sort de l'Eglise et trouve à la porte plusieurs grands personnages qui commencèrent de lui donner courge par maintes bonnes consolations, auxquels elle dist: "O mes amis, il ne me fault attendre que les hommes adoulcissent ma douleur par leur conseil & consolation, car Celuy seul me consolera à qui plaist par cette dure adversité faire essay de ma patience et de ma constance. Mais, puis que, le temps passé, ne m'a point abandonée en tant d'infortunes où j'estois enveloppée, j'espère que je ne seray trompée de mon attente, car desjà son sainct Esprit prommet au mien que ma fille, tant périlleuse & désespérée soit la maladie qui l'afflige, sera délivrée & recouvrera sa première santé.

"En tenant ces propos, arrive à son logis, entre &, après qu'elle se fut un petit reposée, son Maistre d'hostel l'advertit de soupper. Elle lave & s'assiet à table, mais je vouldrois, ô Alençonnois, ou que trèsbien vous sçeussés, ou que je vous peusse suffisamment réciter les propos qu'elle tint, en souppant, de la bonté, de la piété, de la miséricorde de Dieu, de quelle haulteur de parolles elle exprima la puissance

& la providence divine, de quelle gravité de sentences elle récita la misère & la calamité humaine.

"Après qu'elle eut souppé, de rechef commanda à chascun de sortir de sa chambre &, quant elle eut quelque espace de temps vaqué à oraison, se feist apporter la Bible. L'ayant ouverte, s'agenoille & s'appuye sur un petit banc, &, comme elle vint, le S. Esprit ainsi l'ordonnant, à s'arrêter sur le passage où nous est récitée l'oraison que feist à Dieu Ezéchie, Roi de Juda, quand il demanda prolongation de sa vie après que le Prophete luy eut adnoncé la mort, sans que personne y penseast, de loing fut entendu venir un Poste qui, au son de son cor, monstroit assés qu'il alloit en diligence. Adonc vous les eussiés tous veus chés la Royne fort étonnés &, ainsi que dit le Proverbe, tenants le loup aux aureilles, car ils n'estoient encores bien assurés quelles nouvelles le Courier apportoit.

"Au signe de la Poste Marguerite se lève, court à la fenestre, l'ouvre, demande où va le Courier & quelles nouvelles il porte. Personne ne luy respond, car qu'eussent ils peu respondre? Si, pour la consoler, luy eussent dit qu'il apportoit

bonnes nouvelles & il eust esté aultrement, la vaine espérance de si courte joye eust possible renouvellé & de plus fort augmenté sa douleur & tristesse. Et, si ainsi eust esté que sa fille fust décédée, où est celui qui eust voulu si soubdainement luy dire & se faire messager de si triste fortune? Veoiant Marguerite que personne ne lui respondoit, retourne à son oraison; mais ô Seigneur Dieu, de quelle affection d'esprit & de quelle ardente foy elle parloit à toy! Et, comme elle estoit ainsi demourée entre crainte & espérance, Nicolas d'Anguye, lors Evesque de Saix, maintenant de Mande, au logis duquel le Courier étoit descendu, s'en vint à la maison de la Royne, frappe à la porte de sa chambre. On luy ouvre; il entre & trouve ceste bonne Princesse estant à genoils, la face inclinée contre terre, & intentifve à oraison.

"Un peu après elle se lève &, détournée vers le vénérable Evesque: "Monsieur de Saix," luy dist-elle, "venés vous icy pour adnoncer à une dolente mère la mort de sa fille unique? J'entens bien qu'elle est maintenant avec Dieu?" Le trèsprudent homme, auquel une singulière piété de mœurs est conjoincte avec une assurée

erudition & exact jugement, ne voulut émouvoir les esprits de la Royne par une trop soubdaine joye, ains trèsmodestement luy respondit que véritablement sa fille vivoit avec Dieu ainsi qu'avec luy vivent tous ceuls l'esprit desquels vit par Foy, car il est mort où il n'y a point de foy, mais qu'elle estoit encores en ce monde, que la fiebvre l'avoit laisée, que son flux de sang estoit arresté & que les Médecins envoioient toute bonne et joyeuse nouvelle, ce qu'il avoit entendu par les lettres que le Courier avoit apportées. Quand Marguerite entendit ce propos, elle ne commencea, comme plusieurs eussent fait, de monstrer une insolente & effrénée joye pour si bonne nouvelle, mais, les mains levées au Ciel, trèshumblement le remercia."[1]

Such a passage is by no means exceptional. Both orations offer many examples of close observation and clear expression, gifts of the true narrator. And Sainte-Marthe was evidently conscious of his pictorial powers, declaring of those who mourned the duchess of Beaumont: "Quand ils liront cest louenge funebre, l'image de la trespassee se representera à euls, qui leur

[1] *Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, pp. 52–55.

causera une consolation & contentement par la memoire d'elle."[1]

Their passages of graphic narrative and presentment of visual images are not, however, the most noteworthy features of the Orations. It was in gifts of oratory that Sainte-Marthe really shone, and here it is when heated with indignation that he is most fluent and most eloquent: "Que si l'on nous vouloit presser de trop près pour nommer ceuls qui sont tombés jusques en ceste rage que d'avoir ausé déhontément mesdire d'elle," he writes, for example, "ceuls là apertement & en public, ceuls cy secrètement & soubs les cheminées, les uns aux tavernes, les aultres en leurs maisons, les aultres aussi en leurs Leçons & Sermons, certes sa doulceur, sa bénignité, sa constance, seroit assés manifestée & congnue à toutes sortes de gents."[2] Sainte-Marthe's skill with verse as an instrument of invective has been remarked upon; his use of prose for the same purpose is no less telling. The fire and energy of his attack ennoble even his exaggerations and personalities. He lifts

[1] *Or. fun. . . . de Fr. d'A.*, fol. 21 r°.
[2] *Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, pp. 56–57.

his voice against ingratitude thus: "O extreme impudence, O ingratitude Scythique! Mais ce n'est grand merveille d'entendre ceuls avoir esté impudents qui ont surpasse toute memoire d'ingratitude, je dy, qui sont monstrés les plus ingrats dont jamais on ouit parler?" "O quelle honte hauront nos babillardes, qui de Savetieres se font grandes Dames & encores, qu'elles soient descendues de basse maison et mariées à des nobles & illustres personnes ausquels elles doivent tout ce qu'elles sont, ce néantmoins ce sont de glorieuses coquardes, qui ne portent honneur à leurs maris, & n'en tiennent compte non plus que de simples Charbonniers, &, tant à la maison que dehors, leur langue est un traquet de moulin & un vray cymbale, en sorte que, quand elles caquettent leurs inepties, on diroit, à les ouïr, que c'est un tintamarre de chaulderons, tabourins & clochettes."[1] For his oratory, Sainte-Marthe owed little to French models. The commonplaces of the rhetoric of the time, as Montaiglon has noted, are commonly absent from his work, but, even in passages where the tactics of the orator are most in

[1] *Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, p. 74 *et seq.*

evidence, Sainte-Marthe can redeem them by the picturesqueness of his phrases and a certain sustained energy, and generally succeeds in resisting the temptation to mere grandiloquence. When he speaks of the world "qui n'est que vanité, n'ha rien que vanité, promet que vanité, ne poeut donner que vanité: et par consequent, il fait celuy qui se rend son esclave, cercheur de vanité, amateur & admirateur de vanité,"[1] though the attempt to charm the ear by rhythmic repetition is too obvious to be altogether successful, Sainte Marthe stops short of distasteful extremes. When he addresses death, fortune, and the influential stars, his verve redeems the bombast he does not escape: "O Mort, si nos injures pouvoient de toy nous venger, & diminuer aussi la douleur que nous sentons de ta violence & crudelité, que tu serois assaillie s'opprobres, que tu serois picquee de Satyres, que tu serois assiegee d'invectives, que tu serois assommee d'oultrages. Et vous Astres & corps celestes, si nostre foy permettoit donner telle vertu & tels effects à vos influences, que les Ethniques & infideles leur attribuent, & que nos maledictions peussent

[1] *Or. fun. . . . de Fr. d'A.*, fol. 10 r°.

donner aucun soulagement à nostre dueil, que d'imprecations vous oyriés de nous! Et toy Fortune, qui desires estre recognue & reveree pour la seule regente de ce monde, si nostre Religion consentoit à te recevoir pour telle, que tu serois souvent appellee muable, indiscrete, inique, cruelle!"[1]

It must be confessed that there are a few passages in which Sainte-Marthe's taste fails him completely, as when he compares the duchess of Beaumont to the Trojan horse, in that from her "ont estè procrées tant de trésnobles Princes, frères, à l'honneur, proesse & vertu desquels toute l'esperance des François . . . pour aujourd'huy se repose;"[2] or when he likens to the court of Francis I, "la Court de ce grand Dieu, Empereur & Seigneur de tout le Monde."[3] Again, with exasperating bluntness of sensibility he consoles his hearers by the reminder that if Marguerite of Navarre is gone, Marguerite of France remains: "Elles ne différent de nom, de surnom, de maison, de sang, d'armoiries; il peut estre qu'elles différoient

[1] *Or. fun. . . . de Fr. d'A.*, fol. 5 r°.
[2] *Or. fun. de M. de N.*, pp. 44–45. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 115.

quelque peu en grandeur, car l'une estoit Royne & l'aultre attend encor le tiltre Royal, mais elle est trèsdigne d'estre colloquée non avec un Roy seulement, mais avec un Monarche & dominateur de tout ce monde. Que si le trèsdébonnaire Dieu nous donneoit, ce que tous espérons & de trèsbon cœur luy demandons, que la Niepce mist sur sa teste la couronne que la Tante a laisée, nous n'haurions plus occasion de regretter Marguerite de Valois, Royne de Navarre." [1] Sainte-Marthe is even, on occasion, not above the least worthy tricks of the orator. The oration on the Queen of Navarre was, in fact, never delivered; yet its author thus prepares to exhort his expected audience: "Mais vostre maintien ô Allençonnois, m'incite & contraint à parachever ce que j'ay commencé, & desja je sents en moy mon cœur, vous veoiant ainsi attentifs, s'estre tant enhardy que je ne puis plus résister à vostre autorité, qui ha sur moy puissance." [2]

Defects like these, however, are rare in Sainte-Marthe's prose; and he may, on the whole, be

[1] *Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, pp. 117–118.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 29.

said to stand alone among his immediate contemporaries in the matter of feeling, taste and eloquence. The reader has only to compare his Orations with similar works much admired in their time in order to appreciate Sainte-Marthe's superiority, such works, for example, as Duchâtel's two funeral orations on the king, to one of which Sainte-Marthe himself refers as "une tresornée & tresrenommée Oraison."[1] The clear and picturesque, if somewhat elaborated and prolix, exposition of Sainte-Marthe's thought contrasts favorably with the disconnected ideas, the long, inorganic sentences, the awkward metaphors of Duchâtel's orations,[2] his true touch in matters of feeling, with his predecessor's labored expressions. Hardly once does the latter succeed in conveying profound feeling in telling words; Sainte-Marthe's Oration, on the contrary, overflows with emotional expression which convinces without transgressing the bounds of taste, such as, "O quelle douleur, quelle angoisse, quel chagrin & soulcy avoit la dolente mere de voir son enfant en si pitoyable estat?"[3] — his exhi-

[1] Oraison . . . de M. de N. p. 40. [2] Cf. p. 438.
[3] Oraison . . . de Fr. du A. fol. 33.

mation on the distress of Françoise at her child's illness. It is, naturally, when speaking of the death of the Queen of Navarre that Sainte-Marthe is most moved and most touching. Whether expressing his sense of the finality of death, or the grief and faithful love of the survivors, Sainte-Marthe knows how to reach the hearts of his auditors. He finds words for their despair and for their loyalty: "Que voulons nous donc puisque nostre volunté n'ha plus de puissance? C'est fait." "Mais je sents bien, ô Alençonnois, où tendent les plainctes que vous faictes contre la Mort, c'est que plus ne veoyés vostre Marguerite en ce Monde, plus ne parlés à elle, car elle est estendue morte en son sépulchre." "Laissons donc les froids & faincts colladateurs des morts refraischir leur mémoire, ou en lisant les inscriptions des sépulchres ou en regardent les statues qui leur sont érigées, car nous havons tousjours mémoire de la Royne de Navarre."[1] Perhaps Sainte-Marthe's most convincing words are those of consolation. He pictures the queen at rest after the business of the day was over — "l'ame de laquelle, qui tout

[1] *Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, pp. 116, 117, 118.

le jour a esté diffuse par le corps & respandue aux sens, deschargée de son fardeau, se réunit par un douls dormir & se caiche au dedans, si bien que jamais elle ne fut veue dormir plus doulcement ne plus à son aise. Où est celui de nous," he continues, "qui seroit marri de son repos? Et, si son Valet de chambre ouvroit la porte à quelques uns qui feissent tel bruit qu'elle s'en eveillast, ne luy dirions nous toutes les injures du monde &, quand elle reposeroit, n'imposerions nous silence à un chascun? Ne les advertirions nous de marcher tout beau? Que n'en faisons nous aujourd'huy autant?" he concludes, simply.[1]

No less frequent with Sainte-Marthe than the true expression of feeling is the happy use of simile, the happy turn of phrase. He compares the Duchess of Beaumont to a spring, "une claire fontaine, qui de ses crystalins bras embrasse & circuit tout le pais, arrose les prés, & liberalement distribue de son eau, pour esteindre la soif des hommes, des bestes, des arbres, des herbes & de toutes les creatures de la terre,"[2]

[1] *Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, pp. 114–115.
[2] *Or. fun. . . . de Fr. d'A.*, fol. 36 r°.

and compares the virtues of Marguerite to a glittering light, in an account of the Emperor's suit, which, for the rest, reads like a page from a fairy tale: "Et comme ceuls qu'elle avoit attirés à son admiration semoient par tout & à tous les rares vertus d'elle, tantost fut la renommée espandue jusques à Charles, aujourd'huy Empereur & lors Roy des Espaignes, qu'en la Court du Roy de France estoit une jeune fille, Princesse, excellente en beaulté & resplendissante de vertus comme d'une clarté estincellante par ses raïons. Charles, esmeu de ce bruit, commençea se sentir frappé de l'amour de la vierge, qu'il n'avoit onc veue, dont il envoia en France ses Ambassadeurs la demander pour luy en marriage."[1] The artful simplicity of such a description would be hardly matched in any contemporary author, but it is by no means uncommon in Sainte-Marthe's Orations. In one place, speaking of the birth of Marguerite, Sainte-Marthe, by sheer grace and artlessness, almost persuades his hearers of the impossible: "Quand donc elle fut sortie du ventre de sa mere, si tost ne fut entrée en ce Monde que si grands signes

[1] *Or. fun. . . . de M. de N.*, p. 44.

& certains indices d'une trèsexcellente indole apparurent au visaige de cest enfant que quiconques la regardoit, comme touché d'un divin augure, soubdainement se promettoit d'elle je ne sçay quoy de bon qui excedderoit la naturelle inclination de la mortalité & condition humaine. Elle monstroit un visaige riant à tous ceuls qui la regardoient, &, estant nue, présentoit à un chascun sa main, comme si elle eust voulu donner sa foy de ne se laisser jamais surpasser à personne en humanité, doulceur & liberalité."[1] Such graceful phrases as adorn these passages abound in both orations. "Je n'en scaiche aultres," Sainte-Marthe tells the Alençennois, "qui deussent plus tost se revestir de noir & estre solitairement triste que vous."[2] "Mettons toute tristesse, dueil & mélancholie hors de nostre esprit,"[3] he exhorts them, echoing a refrain of Salel's, and thus addresses those who mourned Françoise d'Alencon: "Laissons ces charnelles louanges aux charnels & mondains; qui ne prisent que les choses externes, caduques

[1] *Or. fun . . . de M. de N.*, p. 33.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 109 *et seq.*
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 121.

& transitoires," [1] — a phrase whose musical fall must have pleased his ear, since he repeats it concerning her daughter Catherine de Bourbon's renunciation of the world and all "delices mondaines, caduques & transitoires." [2]

It is evident, then, that the Orations are to be credited with grace no less than eloquence; and these qualities, combined with a taste, if not unerring, still in the main correct, and brought into the service of profound feeling, entitle them to consideration as noteworthy performances for their time. It was more probably their remarkable erudition which gained for them, in an age passionately concerned with learning, that "grand applaudissement de toute la France" recorded by Scévole de Sainte-Marthe; but it is his appeal to the more elemental feelings, no less than his reflection of the thought of his generation, which justifies the claim of their author to a respectable place in the history of French prose as well as in that of ideas.

[1] *Or. fun. . . . de Fr. d'A.*, fol. 9 v°.
[2] *Or. fun. . . . de Fr. d'A.*, fol. 40 r°.

CHAPTER IV

LATIN WORKS

SAINTE-MARTHE'S Latin paraphrases of the Seventh and Thirty-third[1] Psalms, although composed within a short time of one another and published together, were produced under very different circumstances; his Latin Meditation on the Ninetieth Psalm[2] after an eventful interval of ten years; yet the Paraphrases and the Meditation do not fail to exhibit the common impress of their author's individuality.

This shows itself, for instance, in the theology which lay at the bottom of his thought, a theology obviously in some measure, at least, derived from Calvin. All three works lay stress upon 'predestination,' 'election,' 'grace,' 'providence'; all animadvert upon 'works' and 'merits,' although the doctrine of the depravity of human

[1] The Thirty-fourth in our version. For the sake of convenience, it will be referred to as in Sainte-Marthe's title.

[2] The Ninety-first in our version. *Cf. supra*, note.

nature is clearly stated only in the first Paraphrase. This, the Paraphrase upon the Seventh Psalm, shows the least, the Meditation upon the Ninetieth Psalm the greatest, caution in doctrinal matters. The former devotes a third of its pages to the exposition of theological views at least open to suspicion; the latter, without altering these views, deals in saving clauses and deprecates censure. Its author, for example, as we have seen, emphatically declares against schism, "quum extra Ecclesiam non sit salus, atque solos illos pro suis Deus agnoscat qui manent in Ecclesia," as again, in his *Argument*, he takes care to disarm those who may discover in his Paraphrase too much stress upon faith, too much scorn of 'works' and 'merits': "De fide quum loquimur, de sola fide dicimus, quae bona opera per Charitatem profert: ne quis putat nudam illam fidem, hoc est, pietate vacuam, eas promissiones expectare debere quae hic vere credentibus fiunt."[1] The whole is in the tone of a man prepared to submit his judgment to that of the Church, a man who is ready to exclaim: "Adju-

[1] *In Psalmum xc . . . Meditatio paraphrastica*, fols. 14 r° and 7 r°.

torium altissimi, est Ecclesia sacrosancta, Cujus caput est Christus."[1]

And, if Sainte-Marthe's actual theology underwent no appreciable change in the course of ten years, this is notably true also of its practical fruits, which held him to the ascetic conception of life at a moment when the early movement of the Renaissance inclined a man of his time and associations to a view wholly different. In his Paraphrase of the Thirty-third Psalm written in his first movement of joy and gratitude at his release, he writes: "Non habet ille grata Pharisæorum opera, qui sua merita tactitant, & suae iustitiae sanctitatem tribuunt: set eorum qui se abnegant ipsos, ac prorsus distrahuntur a suis adfectibus. Qui, spretis huius mundi uoluptatibus, in lachrymis, in uigiliis, & in ieiunii, vitam transigunt."[1] Ten years later he makes his ascetic point of view even plainer. The declaration with which he opens his Meditation on the Ninetieth Psalm could not more clearly forswear the material paganism, the mere sensual delight in life which played so large a part

[1] *In Psalmum xc . . . Medit.*, fol. 14 r°.
[2] *In Psalmum . . . xxxiii Paraphrasis*, p. 192.

in the Renaissance. The sentiments of Petrarch surveying the world from Mount Ventoux were not more characteristically mediæval: "Quum ego mecum statum mundi hujus consydero, ac rerum propè omnium, cum cotidiana varietate, frequentes mutationes ante oculos pono meos, mihi videtur perpulchre sibi consulere, qui, quæcumque hic videt ac intuetur pro vanitate ducit: atque et a mundo, et ab iis rebus quæ in mundo sunt omnibus, animum abducit ac in solum illum cunctorum opficem Deum, mentis suæ aciem dirigit. Nam, ubi humanæ felicitatis, quam homo in vanitate collocat, principium, progressionem, incrementum, statum, ac finem tandem ipsumque exitum diligenter perspexerimus, nemo certe homo erit (nisi prorsus judicio careat) qui felicissimum esse non dicat illium *Qui habitat in adjutorio altissimi.*"[1] Further on in the Meditation Sainte-Marthe's words suggest that he had consciously in mind some of the views popular with the men of the Renaissance. He not only deprecates the Renaissance conception of 'Nature' as interpreted by the skeptic, "qui denique pro altissimo,

[1] *In Psalmum xc . . . Medit.*, fol. 1 r°.

Naturam nescio quam introducit cui attribuit, quidquid terra alit, procreat ac vegetat," but he definitely attacks one of its extreme theories, the 'omnis voluptas bona est,' so frankly set forth by Laurentius Valla.[1] "Dicunt præterea, Naturæ adfectibus prorsus acquiescendum esse, ut quoquo se inclinent, eo proni ac præcipites ferri debeamus, ac proinde ridiculum existimant, cupiditates cordis sic cohibere, ut, quam habeamus a Natura libertatem, nescii cuidam spiritati seruituti adligemus. Huic opinioni non refragatur sapientia Carnis; nam quomodo reclamaret sententiæ ita sibi adridenti? Non repugnat Mundus: quandoquidem nullos habet, qui suos fines latius dilatent: neque non potest iis plausibilis esse, qui Mundo adeo addict sunt, ut nihil aliud quam Carnem spirent."[2]

But, although Sainte-Marthe may have expressed his inner convictions when he set his face against the pagan aspect of the Renaissance, he assuredly did violence to himself in suppressing in these Latin works all, or almost all, obvious

[1] *Cit.* Brunetière, *Hist. de la litt. Française classique*, Vol. 1, p. 15. The *De Voluptate ac summo bono* had been published as lately as 1512.

[2] *In Psalmum xc . . . Medit.*, fols. 14 r° and 18 r°.

evidence of his humanistic sympathies. His frequent quotations are scriptural quotations, his examples almost invariably scriptural examples. To readers familiar with the Funeral Orations the taste which eliminated practically all classical allusions from scriptural Paraphrase and Meditation presupposes a discipline little short of heroic. Sainte-Marthe must have checked himself at every page, almost at every sentence. As a fact, although in the dedicatory letters he yields freely to his classical proclivities, he succeeds in suppressing all but four or five direct classical references in the works themselves. We should tear our hearts and not our garments, "atque eo minus bachantium more in proprios artus sævire"; when enemies surround him, who would not wish to be covered "clypeo illo fortissimo, quo apud Homerum Teucer, Aiacis frater, a morte servatus est"? to speak of justification by 'merits' and 'works' alone, what is it else, but to pile mountains on mountains and attempt a violent assault of heaven, "Gygantum poeticorum instar"?[1]

[1] *In Psalmum Septimum . . . Paraphrasis*, p. 91; *In Psalmum xc . . . Medit.*, fols. 22 r° and 20 r°.

Sainte-Marthe indulges himself elsewhere also with this simile. God will destroy those, who, trusting in their own powers, are ready to venture anything: "forte montes montibus superingesturi ut te cælo propellant, quemadmodum Gygantes fecisse quondam finguntur, ut Iovem è solio suo deturbarent. Set quo tendit Poëtarum figmentum . . . nisi quod (ut ait scriptura) non saluabuntur in multitudine uirtutis suæ?"[1] These, with a reference to the riches of Croesus, a characterization of the vulgar crowd as Euripus and Polypus, and a reference to avenging conscience as "ultricem illam, infestissimam molestissimamque furiam Alastoram in conscientia,"[2] sum up the obviously classical ornaments he permitted himself in a total of two hundred and fifty-seven pages. But Sainte-Marthe could not so easily divest himself of the substance of the classics which had become part of the stuff of his mind. Surely the ἑρκος ὀδόντων occurred to him when, paraphrasing the verse, "Prohibe linguam tuam a malo & labia tua ne loquantur dolum," he ushers in St.

[1] *In Psalmum Septimum . . . Paraph.*, p. 61.
[2] *In Psalmum xc . . . Medit.*, fols. 9 v° and 37 v°.

James' metaphors of fire and of the bitted horse with "Cogita diligenter apud te, quam ab caussam Natura linguæ dentes & labia, tanquam vallum aliquod, opposuerit: nempe ut non possit quando uolet prorumpere ac blaterare ac futilia pleraque inaniter effutire quæ longe præstaret tacuisse;" [1] and Horace scarcely less than Job, to whom he makes marginal reference, must have been in his mind when he wrote, "Proinde si sæviat fortuna, non dejiciar animo: si quid prosperitatis adfulserit, non insolescam," [2] or elsewhere expanded the same idea with an eloquence in which reminiscence of his own experience plays its part.[3] Again, Lucretius was at least the original source of one of his similes: "Ut enim quum puero volumus absinthium dare, oras poculi melle circum linimus, quo puer, mellis dulcedine allectus, quidquid in poculo continentur mellitum esse putet, ac haustu uno in ventrem mittat.[4] And if Horace and Homer informed his mind, Sainte-Marthe was indebted,

[1] *In Psalmum . . . xxxiii, Paraph.*, p. 179.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 148.

[3] *In Psalmum xc . . . Medit.*, fol. 16 v°. Sainte-Marthe returns to this idea later in the Meditation, fol. 25 v°.

[4] *Ibid.*, fol. 17 v°.

as theologian no less than as orator, to Pliny for his natural history.

Paraphrases and Meditation, as little as the Orations, indicate that he cast an actual observing eye upon fauna and flora, though these afford him many a convenient simile. In his Paraphrases such prodigies are to be met with as a porcupine (hystrix) compounded of Pliny's 'hystrix' and 'harinaceus,'[1] as the "Bonasus animal" (qui), quoniam cornibus inutiliter implexis lædere non potest, fugiens fimum reddit: cuius contactus, insequentes ut ignis aliquis comburit,"[2] or as the 'rhododendron,' poisonous to animals but affording to man a cure for the venom of serpents.[3] Even when he did not go to Pliny, Sainte-Marthe relied upon his imagination rather than upon his own observation in such matters as when he represents chickens defending themselves against a hawk, "suæ imbecilitatis obliti"![4]

[1] *In Psalmum Septimum . . . Paraph.*, p. 59. *Cf.* Pliny, VIII, Chaps. LIII and LVI.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 107. *Cf.* Pliny, VIII, Chap. XVI.

[3] Ded. to Galbert, *In Psalmum Septimum . . . Paraph.*, p. 9. *Cf.* Pliny, XVI, Chap. XXXIII.

[4] *In Psalmum xc . . . Medit.*, fol. 22 r°.

However small Sainte-Marthe's perception of natural phenomena, he is, in his Latin works, more lavish of illustrations drawn from actual life than is the case in his funeral orations. This was perhaps because his abstinence from classical illustration or allusion threw him back, when scriptural examples did not suffice him, upon his own experience of life. It may be, indeed, that he actually owed to recollections of Rabelais rather than to his own observation so lively an account of a city in danger of siege as the following: "Si quando hostium adventu terretur civitas, statim omnem curam adhibent cives, ne incauti deprehendantur, muros reficiunt, vallum et fossam reparant, arces armis, hastilibus, lanceis, bombardis, telis missilibus muniunt, excubias collocant: in summa, sese omnes operi accingunt, quo imparatos eos hostis non adgrediatur: in hanc enim solicitudinem si non incumberent, nullo negocio expugnarentur;" [1] but other illustrations may with more probability be set down as the fruit of his own observation. He dwells, for instance, with great

[1] *In Psalmum xc . . . Medit.*, fol. 12 v°. *Cf.* Rabelais, *Œuvres*, Vol. II, pp. 6 and 7.

vividness upon the unhappy conditions of the time at which he wrote: "Hodie propemodum exanimamur omnes mœrore, cum fructus terræ sementi non respondent, cum feruent omnia bellis, cum grassatur pestis, cum cruciamur inaudito quodam genere morborum, cùm uexant nos Bestiæ, cum urget fames & homines una cum brutis animantibus iugulat."[1] Again, he describes the fall of courtiers: "Eos Principes exosculabuntur, amplectentur, amabunt, lubenter audient, honoribus ac divitijs cumulabunt: set quid inde? Si enim fortuna reflarit odiosior, in quas illi miserias recident, testes erunt complures, quos nostra memoria vidimus, a summo favore, aula excludi, et ignominiose in vincula pertrahi; atque alios, bonis publicatis, cruci suffigi; alios capite truncari, alios carceri perpetuo mancipari; alios relegari."[2] Elsewhere he gives in a few words a convincing picture of poverty: "Quod si te rerum omnium penuria sic divexabit, ut quantam quantam operam impendas, ut tua industria tibi ac tuis victum pares, non possis tamen: ac te interim

[1] *In Psalmum Septimum . . . Paraph.*, p. 100.
[2] *In Psalmum xc . . . Medit.*, fols. 10 r° and v°.

destituant homines auxilio prorsus omni, ac despiciant et a se reiiciant, clama: refugium meum es tu Deus meus."[1] In yet another place he attacks insatiable money getters and usurers with a page of fine bluster which a modern agitator might envy. Small doubt that it was inspired by his own bitter experience of things: "Faciunt quidem illi, quod plerosque in theatro facere videmus, qui sedilia occupant, ac superuenientes excludunt: sibi proprium uendicantes, quod omnium usui patet. In hunc modum, pecuniæ studio ducti, quod commune est priores inuadunt, ac suum ex præoccupatione faciunt. Imo uero latronum similes sunt, qui uias obsident. Ut enim illi prætereuntibus insidiantur & comprehensos rebus nudant suis & quandoque iugulant; rapiunt quæ in agris sunt, domos expilant, & subterraneis foveis, quæcunque ui furtoue sustulerunt, ac incursionibus deprædati sunt, aurum, argentum, uestes, armenta & similia recludunt: Ita ipsi, per fas & nefas proximorum facultates rapiunt, & in arcas suas reponunt, quas ut aliquando expleant, Lepores agunt, qui simul pariunt & aliud alunt & rursum

[1] *In Psalmum xc . . . Medit.*, fol. 18 v°.

superfœtant.[1] Nam egentibus mutuo pecuniam numerant ad fœnus, & dantes statim petunt, & ponentes tollunt et fœnerant, quod pro fœnore accipiunt: interim, miseri qui in illorum æs inciderunt, explicantur nunquam; fiuntque similes equo, qui, accepto semel freno, sessorem alium post alium fert. Set tametsi pecuniam undecunque & quocunque modo accumulent, & aurum auro superingerant, nihilominus tamen satiari semel non possunt, etiam si thesauri omnes ipsis circumfluxerint: atque quo plus habent, plus appetunt, &, cum inferno cadaueribus mortuorum inexplebili, nunquam dicunt satis est. Sunt interim feroces & uiolenti, ac diuitias suas ostentantes, liber hic sese regnare putant; quasi multos pati tyrannos, nempè discruciari, auaritia, ira, liuore, cupiditate uindictæ, metu, spe, non sit ipsissimam seruitatem seruire, & uix uiuere: tantum abest ut eos regnare credam."[2] The convincing illustration, in this passage, of the seats at a theater is matched by other allusions to contemporary conditions. To

[1] Sainte-Marthe is here indebted to Pliny, VIII, Chap. LXXXI.

[2] *In Psalmum . . . xxxiii, Paraph.*, pp. 175 *et seq.*

illustrate his points Sainte-Marthe refers, for example, to the farmer dismissed for negligence, "qui . . . semina non spargat, rura non scindat, vites non colat;" to the false coiner, to whom Satan is likened; to the alternating hardship and ease of military service; to the press no more necessary to perfecting olive and grape for human use than are persecutions to the Christian's preparation for heaven, to the heralds who publish, the envoys and public letters that emphasize, the decrees of princes.[1] Perhaps his most telling reference to the customs of his time is his account of the temptations to brawling: "Itaque si te quispiam atroci aliquo et inhonesto conuitio impetit, unde possis infamiam aliquam contrahere, Deus bone, quam hic vetus ille Adam commovetur! Quam succenset! Quam indigne fert opprobrium quantumvis etiam justa ratione inflictum! Imo vero, ita hodie Carnis pervicacia et superbia apud plerosque ferme omnes invaluit, ut si quis, vel colaphum in os tibi impegerit, vel te mentitum esse dixerit, statim sit tibi educto

[1] *In Psalmum . . . xxiii, Paraph.*, p. 183; *In Psalmum xc . . . Medit.*, fol. 27 v°; *In Psalmum Septimum . . . Paraph.*, pp. 75, 83, 85.

gladio frustatim discerpendus, nisi mavis perpetua ignominia conspergi."[1] However, the bulk of Sainte-Marthe's Latin performances considered, their allusions to the external aspects of life itself are not abundant and even in some of these an unrecognized literary source may be suspected.

For the more general matters of human feeling, good and bad, Sainte-Marthe finds happy and telling expression. He portrays vividly enough the terrified child as it flees to its mother, "ac in ejus amplexus salutis suæ spem ponit omnem,"[2] and, if one eloquent passage on friendship[3] owes something to recollections of Cicero, Sainte-Marthe speaks from his own heart when in another he describes angels performing their ministry in the guise of friends.[4] He satirizes with effect the common human desires for honor, riches and love, no less than for remembrance after death. The righteous man, he writes, does not say to the Lord, "Cumula me honoribus, dignitatibus, opibus, proventibus; da mihi pacem

[1] *In Psalmum xc . . . Medit.*, fol. 19 r°.
[2] *Ibid.*, fol. 21 r°.
[3] *In Psalmum . . . xxxiii, Paraph.*, p. 153.
[4] *In Psalmum xc . . . Medit.*, fol. 39 r°.

toto vitæ meæ tempore; da mihi bene datatam et egregia forma uxorem; da quæcunque mihi collibuerint"; and he points out how vainly men attempt to gain from posterity an immortal name, "operibus, traditionibus, institutionibus, ædificiis ac similibus quæ relinquunt."[1] Conscience, again, could hardly be better characterized than by Sainte-Marthe; "timore undique & tremore perculsa, dolore quodam perpetuo torquetur. Suspitiosa est, anxia est, angulos metuit, umbras formidat: & in lecto, & in mensa, & in foro, & interdiu, & noctu, & in ipsis frequenter somnijs, suæ iniquitatis simulachra uidet: & quem extra intuetur nemo, sentit continuum ignem, quo uiua intus et sine spe ulla refrigerij consumitur & flagrat."[2] But it is naturally in matters of religious experience that Sainte-Marthe is at his best; the love of God, gratitude and trust towards Him, penitence, worship and spiritual aspiration: such motions of the soul call out his best gifts. "Itaque agnoscamus, confiteamur & palam ac passim

[1] *In Psalmum xc . . . Medit.*, fol. 15 r°; *In Psalmum . . . xxxiii, Paraph.*, p. 189.

[2] *In Psalmum . . . xxxiii, Paraph.*, p. 185.

prædicemus magnitudinem, gloriam, maiestatem, honorem, grauitatem, splendorem ac omnipotentiam eius: quod cum faciemus, illum quidem magnificabimus"; so his worship expresses itself.[1] "Laudabo cum Dauide," he writes elsewhere, "quod multis me periculis inuolutum explicauerit, ac liberauerit a malis omnibus. Laudabo, inquam eum, bonitatem eius narrabo, misericordiam eius prædicabo, ac paternum plane erga nos adfectum eius recensebo: & (quod fecisse Apostolos legimus) in patienta expectabo Spiritum eius sanctum."[2] Paraphrases and Meditations, in fact, overflow with expressions of deep personal piety.

Even the few passages it is possible to quote suffice to show the fluency and correctness of Sainte-Marthe's Latin. He is as much at home in it as in his native tongue, probably indeed more at home, since in using it he had the advantage of models without number, while as a writer of French prose he was still to some extent a pioneer.[3] It is impossible to read

[1] *In Psalmum . . . xxxiii, Paraph.*, p. 154.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 150.
[3] Colletet's criticism has its interest: "Comme la nôtre

Sainte-Marthe's Latin works and not feel surprise at Montaiglon's assumption that French must have been the original form of the funeral oration for the Queen of Navarre, even though it was first published in Latin.[1] Sainte-Marthe's Latin impresses the reader above all as exactly conveying its author's thought. He plays no tricks with it, nor disports himself in it with the Ciceronian flourishes of his friend Breton, for example; he does not even give the impression of the artist's search for the right word; his periods flow easily and simply with his thought. Occasional telling phrases, as when he writes of John the Baptist "acrioribus verbis mordens conscientias Judæorum," or of the check given to Balaam "festinanti ad maledicendum Israeli," have an air rather of happy accident than of deliberate effort.[2] It might seem natural that, in the Paraphrases, Sainte-Marthe should be

(langue) n'avait pas encore de son temps de hautes élevations, on peut dire que son élocution latine l'emporte même de bien loin sur sa diction française." *Vies des poëtes françois*, fol. 445 r°.

[1] *Ed. Heptaméron*, Vol. I, p. 3.

[2] *In Psalmum Septimum et Psalmum xxxiii, Paraphrasis*, pp. 34 and 167.

little tempted to virtuosity, since the first is the anguished cry of his heart for help, the second his exultant thanksgiving for deliverance. But he himself takes pains to declare that the simplicity of his style is the result of deliberate choice. He has a definite theory of the proper style for a theologian. "Desiderabit in ea Momus," he writes, "dictionem elegantiorem ac nitidiorem, atque nauseat ad omnia quæ rhetorum condimentis et ornamentis carent." But Sainte-Marthe has his objection ready; he is writing for those who desire sound doctrine however expressed rather than ill opinions set forth by the most eloquent author; and, in any case, although eloquence may be required in most disciplines, the theologian's boast should be simplicity: "in hoc ipso laudatur Theologus, in quo aquæ laus est, nimirum ut probatur si nihil sapiat illa: sic, si infans sit ipse, & a Musis alienus."[1] Elsewhere, in his preface to the Latin version of his Funeral Oration on the Queen of Navarre, Sainte-Marthe has much to say of the strictures of the rhetoricians who could

[1] Ded. to Galbert. *In Psalmum Septimum . . . Paraph.* pp. 14 and 15.

not endure any infractions of their rules and condemned digressions or quotations. But the Ciceronians, "qui malunt Cicer[on]ianos se quam Christianos esse," were still more exacting. They despised the placid style of the jurisconsult and condemned all that did not attain to Cicero's eloquence, nor considered the profounder doctrine which proved a writer more than a mere grasshopper delighting the ear.[1] It is perhaps a little surprising to find Sainte-Marthe on this side of the Ciceronian controversy considering his close relations with Dolet and Breton, especially as, in the *Poesie Francoise*, he had represented the palm for eloquence as passing from Cicero to Erasmus, from Erasmus to Bembo and Sadolet, and, finally, to Dolet. In any case the result of his views upon his Latin prose style was admirable. His language, wholly free from self-consciousness, lends itself perfectly to his feeling, and, in this respect at least, the Meditation, composed at leisure at a period of greater maturity, marks little advance upon his earlier efforts, the two Paraphrases.

[1] *C. Sanctomarthanus lectori candido. In obitum . . . Margaritæ . . . Oratio funebris*, p. 2 *et seq.* *Cf.* p. 586 *et seq.*

If, however, Sainte-Marthe's use of the Latin language was as efficient in his earliest attempt as it ever became, the same cannot be said of either the matter or construction of the Paraphrase of the Seventh Psalm. This work is obviously inferior to its two successors in these regards. Composed in prison at a moment of despair, it is, in the main, not only an appeal to God for help, but a cry for vengeance upon the writer's enemies, and its bitterness is so intense that no profession of Christian resignation nor explanation of Christian theology can conceal it. Sainte-Marthe dwells upon his wrongs, his destitution, his bonds, his physical sufferings in a foul dungeon, upon the accusations against him, and the machinations against his life[1] of enemies "quos nullo plane ratione mitigare possum."[2] He protests his innocence, his conviction that his sufferings are for righteousness' sake, "propter nomen tuum" or "ob pietatem,"[3] and calls down vengeance upon his enemy: "In numero filiorum iræ, hostes nostri sunt: &

[1] *In Psalmum Septimum . . . Paraph.*, pp. 19, 21, 70. 112, 26, 41, *et passim.*

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 58. [3] *Ibid.*, pp. 25–27.

quotquot nos persequuntur. Quare, in filios iræ, exurge Domine in ira tua: & elevare propter indignationem inimicorum meorum."[1] He objurgates his enemy freely, and, after impugning his motives and attacking his private life, exhorts him with an assumption of piety singularly unpleasing: "Redi ergo ad te, & exuto ueteri Adamo cum actibus suis omnibus, nouum indue: hoc est, non secundum carnis desideria uiuito, set secundum spiritum, et voluntatem CHRISTI. . . . Set iam me uox clamantem deficit, neque plus certè proficio mea cohortatione, quàm qui Æthiopem conabitur dealbare."[2] Even when Sainte-Marthe is only exhorting the wicked in general to repentance, and in the name of charity, it is more than likely that he had his personal enemies in mind: "Cogor hic uos pro charitatis officio adhortari, ô cæci & miseri, qui nullis cohortationibus, nullis prædicationibus, nullis item exemplis adhuc moueri potuistis, ut relictis tenebris ad lucem confugiatis. Non est tam execrandum peccati genus, quo delectati non sitis, ut carnis uestræ titillationibus satis-

[1] *In Psalmum Septimum . . . Paraph.*, p. 36.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 113.

fieret. Nullum est ignominiæ, infamiæ probrique genus, quo non asperseritis nomen piorum. Nulla est tyrannis, nulla crudelitas, quam non exercueritis in corpora seruorum Dei, & eorum qui salutem uestram uobis adnunciarunt."[1] The intensity of all this is none the less hysterical for having been expressed under the stress of great provocation. Toward the end of the Paraphrase, however, Sainte-Marthe becomes less preoccupied with his own situation and makes application of the text more general and more doctrinal. Beginning with the distinction between true and false penitence, he proceeds to discuss 'total depravity,' 'salvation by faith,' 'grace,' the punishment of the unrepentant, 'election,' 'free will,' 'Providence,' the duty of thankfulness, as of confessing Christ in word and deed; and he closes on a note of hope and trust in the Lord.

It is not necessary to discuss here the theological bias of Sainte-Marthe's treatment of such subjects, which has already been dealt with. Long discussions of doctrinal points and allusions to the author's own situation are, in the main, the

[1] *In Psalmum Septimum . . . Paraph.*, pp. 94–95.

only external matters conveyed into the body of this Paraphrase in the course of its exposition. In general Sainte-Marthe's method of procedure is simple enough. He takes up each verse of the Psalm in turn, without, as a rule, directly quoting it except in the margin, and amplifies it with abundant quotations from other passages of the Scriptures germane to it in thought and wording. So ample are these quotations, that here and there the expansion of the text consists of them alone, and they, it must be owned, are often only approximately correct, the references noted in the margin frequently inaccurate. For all the crudity of its conception, the *Paraphrase* is not without bursts of eloquence, and the more vigorous of these, inspired by Sainte-Marthe's feeling towards his enemies, not only owe much, as might be expected, to Scripture phraseology, but are tinged with that hebraizing spirit which puritanic movements have so generally imported into Christianity. For example, expounding the phrase "Dominus judicat populos," Sainte-Marthe, after quoting Jeremiah's exhortation to Zedekiah as the proper guide for a just judge, continues:

"Id ne obseruatis? id ne facitis? Iudicet uos Dominus, non ego, iudicent uos opera uestra, non ego. Set,
Esa. 5. audite quam uos mercedem reportabitis, pro uestro tam corrupto iudicio. Væ qui dicitis malum bonum, ponentes tenebras lucem, & lucem tenebras:
Deut. 27. ponentes amarum in dulce, & dulce in amarum. Væ, qui iustificatis impium
Esa. 10. pro muneribus, & iustitiam iusti auferetis ab eo. Væ, qui conditis leges iniquas, & scribentes, iniustitiam scribitis, ut opprimatis pauperes in iudicio: ut uim faciatis caussae humilium populi, ut sint uiduæ prœda uestra, & pupillos diripiatis. Væ, qui
Esa. 59. retrorsum iudicatis, & iustitia à uobis longè stat, & in plateis uestris corruit
Jere. 5. ueritas. Væ uobis, qui caussam uiduæ non iudicastis, & caussam pupilli non dixistis. Maledicti, qui peruertitis
Deut. 24 & 27. iudicium: & dicet omnis populus Amen. Nunquid super ijs non uisi-
Prov. 24. tabo? dicit Dominus, aut super gentem
Jerem. 5. huiusmodi, non ulciscetur anima mea?

Hæc ad uos dicta sunt, ò sacrilegi & nefarij ueritatis osores: qui iudicium in amaritudinem (ut ait Propheta), & iustitiam in absynthium uertitis: Amos 6. hoc est, qui, sontes absoluitis, & insontes opprimitis, adeóque administratis omnia tyranicè, & corruptè."[1]

Such vigor of vituperation, attained by the simple stringing together of quotations, shows hardly less ingenuity than close acquaintance with the Scriptures. Sainte-Marthe is, however, far from incapable of introducing interpretations of his own. A few lines farther on he applies the scriptural image of the deaf adder that stoppeth her ears to those that will not hear even the most learned and the wisest preach the scriptures. Not only will they not hear, he adds, but they await their chance of falling upon the preacher, "ut mordeant gladijs dentium & molarium."[2] Sometimes he conveys surprising energy into these more original interpretations. For example, writing of God, as the just judge before whom all are equal, he brings the figure home

[1] *In Psalmum Septimum . . . Paraph.*, pp. 54–55.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 55.

to his readers by means of definite concrete images, familiar to the thought of all: "Sit Papa, sit Imperator, sit Rex, sit Dux, sit Cardinalis, sit Comes, sit præpotens aliquis & prædiues uir, nihil apud eum sua autoritate plus ualebit in iudicio quàm uidua et edentula anus, quàm faber, quàm agricola, quàm mendicus."[1] Besides ingenuity and force of expression amounting to eloquence, the Paraphrase boasts one or two examples of that concise clearness which Sainte-Marthe occasionally attains in the midst of his prolixity. "Nam uos non metuit," he writes, "qui uester est factor: uos non reformidat qui uester est Dominus: uestra consilia, & impias molitiones uestras non ueretur, qui uos in nictu oculi, redigere ad nihilum potest."[2] Nor does this early effort of Sainte-Marthe as theologian lack the effective use of the rhetorical question: "Quam ob caussam, Dathan et Abyron uiuos terra deglutiuit? Quare maledixit JESUS Chorozaidi? quare Bethsaide? quare Capernaom? Quare funditus euersæ & solo æquatæ fuerunt Ierosolimæ?"[3] But although this Para-

[1] *In Psalmum Septimum . . . Paraph.*, p. 53.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 79.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 100.

phrase shows evidence of profound acquaintance with the Scriptures, although it is not devoid of eloquent invective, and is occasionally adorned with quaint or vivid illustration and, though rarely, with clear or telling oratory, these redeeming features are few in comparison with its defects. As a whole, it is bitter in tone, poor in invention, careless in arrangement and needlessly verbose.

The Paraphrase upon the Thirty-third Psalm shows some improvements upon it. Written upon Sainte-Marthe's release from prison, the Psalm in question, chosen because it expressed his thankful gratitude, is naturally without the bitterness, still less the vindictiveness, of the earlier Paraphrase. The opening exclamation gives the keynote of its feeling throughout: "Si quisquam est mortalium, cui data fuerit unquam occasio benedicendi Dominum Deum, ac ei gratias agendi, pro acceptis ab eo præter meritum magnis et multis beneficiis: ipsum esse me, fateri certe veritas cogit." [1] The Paraphrase keeps consistently to this tone. It is, in fact, a jubilant pæon of praise and thankful-

[1] *In Psalmum . . . xxxiii, Paraph.*, p. 145.

ness, concluding with the promise of the joys of heaven.

And if the spirit of this Paraphrase is more Christian than that of its predecessor, it is also less doctrinal. Doctrinal points are indeed touched upon in passing, but, although they show Sainte-Marthe's point of view unchanged, there is no exhaustive discussion of them, as in the preceding Paraphrase.[1] The whole course of procedure is more natural, if less crude. Each verse of the Psalm paraphrased, instead of being merely expanded by other scriptural quotations, is introduced, elucidated, amplified by illustration and explanation more or less original, although with abundant scriptural ornament. Much is drawn from Sainte-Marthe's own experience, more from his own heart. When he paraphrases, for instance, with eager exultation, the words "Laus eius semper in ore meo," he leaves no doubt that his own gratitude is finding its expression: "Nullum erit mihi præfixum tempus, nulla stata hora, nullus certus dies, nullus item

[1] *Cf. In Psalmum . . . xxxiij, Paraph.*, pp. 145, 152, 170, 171, 173, 177, 178, 179, 182, 186, 192, 194, 197, 198, 201.

constitutus modus laudis eius. Sit mane, sit uesper, sit dies, sit nox, sit festus dies, sit profestus, sit serenitas, sit tempestas: ego omni tempore, omni die, omni hora, omni momento, omni denique in loco prædicabo bonitatem Dei mei, & laudabo Nomen eius in perpetuum."[1] Again, his description of the meek referred to in the verse "Audiant mansueti & lætantur," aided but not overwhelmed by scriptural allusion, is fitted to persuade the reader that Sainte-Marthe's personal ideal is being set before him:

"Qui uim faciunt nulli, set læsi facilè condonant iniuriam; qui non retaliant malum malo, set pro malo rependunt bonum; qui rixosas non amant diuitias, non opes, non latifundia, non dignitates, non honores, set quietam paupertatem, atque adeò ueram animi tranquillitatem; qui noscunt seipsos, ac proinde nihil iustitiæ ac sanctitatis meritis et operibus tribuunt suis, set Fidei in JESUM CHRISTUM; qui abnegarunt sese, & opera sua mala habent quammaximè exosa, seque

Rom. 10.

Rom. 4.

Mat. 13

[1] *In Psalmum . . . xxxiij, Paraph.*, p. 149.

plane cruci subiecerunt, ac solius Dei manui commiserunt; quique (ut semel finiam) uerè Deum timent, & de quibus
Psal. 23. scriptum est, diriget mansuetos in iudicio."[1]

Throughout the Paraphrase the reader feels himself in vital touch with the author. He no longer has merely to marvel at scriptural learning "undique decerptam," but is refreshed with the realities of human feeling. He realizes that the author is setting before him the results of a deep religious experience, whether the difference between abject and filial fear is explained in connection with the psalmist's exhortation, "Timete Dominum omnes sancti ejus," the restlessness of the lusts of the flesh and of their satiety described,—"expletos magis cruciat saturitas quam cruciaret fames"—or the loving-kindness of God compared with that of man,—"Longe quidem alius est benigni illius patris cœlestis fauor, longe diuersa illius amicitia."[2] What there was of the fanatic in Sainte-Marthe shows itself in his prophecy of the change of opinion inevitable

[1] *In Psalmum . . . xxxiij, Paraph.*, p. 152.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 171, 185, 190.

when the light of the world shall shine, "pulsis traditionum humanarum tenebris";[1] what of the philosopher, in his view of death, inevitable in any case: "Non est nobis obscurum nos communi naturæ lege mori debere: proinde quid refert, utrum, uel morbus uel alius casus uitam auferat, an persecutor?"[2] These may be the commonplaces of faith or stoicism, but they bear none the less the impress of their author's individuality. Nothing that Sainte-Marthe has to say in this Paraphrase may be profound, or illuminating, but it is at least real and at first hand.

The stylistic value of the work is not great. It has a certain eloquent flow, often redundant, and shows some evidence of its author's gift of phrase. It is even occasionally adorned with telling imagery, the result obviously of Sainte-Marthe's familiarity with the scriptures and imitation of their language — inevitable in a Paraphrase. He writes thus of his release, for example: "post tempestates multas mihi Sol ille ueritatis purissimus illuxit, & è tenebris & car-

[1] *In Psalmum Septimum . . . Paraph.*, p. 195.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 196.

cere, in lucem & libertatem reuocauit."[1] Constancy and faith, he says again, are best shown in affliction, "ut aut unguentorum suauis & bonus odor, aut aromatum fragrantia non sentitur nisi moueantur illa, hæc frangrantur uel incendantur."[2] But it is not flow, nor phrasing, nor imagination, which stamps this Paraphrase as superior to its author's earlier attempt. It is the power by which Sainte-Marthe makes its Latin the vehicle of sincere and contagious emotion. Sincerity breathes from every page, and it was, the reader must feel, the reality of his feeling rather than any art or skill which showed him here the way to convincing expression.

If Sainte-Marthe's later Paraphrase was an advance upon his first, both are far behind his Meditation on the Ninetieth Psalm. Composed much later, at the maturity of his powers and after years of prosperous experience in a larger world than he had known before his imprisonment, the Meditation gives every evidence of its author's ripened temper. It is throughout the

[1] *In Psalmum . . . xxxiij, Paraph.*, p. 165.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 196.

performance of a man of the world, of a writer sure of his powers. Its theology, though unchanged, is more conciliatory; there are in it few traces of personal bitterness. If Sainte-Marthe dwells upon the vanity of the world, he does not minimize the force of its allurements. The work shows more intentional arrangement; the style is more conscious. The care Sainte-Marthe gives to style makes him, in fact, *precieux* at times, as his refinements of thought lead him into breaches of taste of which he would have been incapable when composing his far cruder Paraphrases.

His attention to method shows itself from the first in the Argument with which Sainte-Marthe prefaces the Meditation. He conceives of the Psalm as having three interlocutors — the Prophet, the Man of faith, the Spirit of God; and their colloquy contains the doctrine, — and here Sainte-Marthe neatly sums up the matter of the work — "ut qui Christianismum profitetur et deo fidit, undecumque munitissimus et tutissimus sit: nec Dæmonum subdolas tentationes, nec mundi malignitatem, nec hominum insidias, nec pestis contagionem, nec bestiarum etiam

noxiarum impetum et sævitiam formidare am plius possit."[1] The Prophet opens the colloqu with the promise that he who dwelleth unde the defense of the Most High shall abide unde the shadow of the Almighty. Encourage thereby, the Man of faith reflects that he wil not blush nor fear to confess the Lord his hop and his stronghold, his God in whom he wil trust. Hardly has he so reflected, when th Prophet interrupts him and continues th Psalm from the third through the eighth verse In these verses, Sainte-Marthe explains, th prophet confirms the opening promise of th Psalm, "tanta sane cum energia," that the faith ful approaches God Himself with the first word of the ninth verse, "For thou, Lord, art my hope." The prophet interrupts him and continues th Psalm until the fourteenth verse, showing th outcome of hope in the promises of God: "Nemo est autem, si modo Dei amore vel minimum tangatur, qui, quum hac legit et secum expendit gaudio non subsiliat; atque sentiat incredibilem in animo consolationem, ubi clare perspicit nihil sibi a rebus quibuscumque noxiis pericul

[1] *In Psalmum xc . . . Medit.*, fol. 5 r°.

imminere."[1] The last three verses, the fourteenth to the sixteenth, are spoken by the Lord to confirm the words of the prophet, "ne is putet hominis tantum verba et promissiones, non Dei esse."[2] The words of God, as expressed in these verses, are analyzed by Sainte-Marthe, divided and subdivided in a manner which shows that, for all his response to new intellectual impulses, he was still hampered by scholastic training. Out of them he constructs a premise and a conclusion:

"Fidelis nomen Domini cognoscit,
ergo
Fidelis Deum invocare potest;"

shows the conclusion confirmed by *authority*, that of the Spirit of God; and proceeds to explain still further that the "long life" of the last verse is life eternal, that "my salvation" is Christ Jesus, and that St. John was referring to the promise of this verse when he wrote, "these things are written that ye might believe, and believing, have eternal life." Sainte-Marthe concludes with that conciliatory definition of faith which has already been quoted.[3]

[1] *In Psalmum xc . . . Medit.*, fol. 5 v°.
[2] *Ibid.*, fol. 6 r°.
[3] *Cf. supra*, p. 449.

It has seemed worth while to dwell at some length upon the Argument, because its methodical arrangement is a foretaste of that employed in the Meditation. Sainte-Marthe does not, as in the Paraphrases, merely set in the margin each verse of the Psalm as he arrives at it in his exposition. The Psalm becomes an integral part of the Meditation. Its verses, or parts of its verses, occur therein as a refrain repeated again and again with an effect almost rhythmic. The opening words of the Psalm, for instance, "Qui habitat in adjutorio altissimi," is repeated twelve times, always as an integral part of a sentence. Its first introduction as the climax of Sainte-Marthe's exordium has an air almost fortuitous. It is only after continued reiteration at intervals of a page or so, that it is forced upon the reader's attention as the focusing idea of the argument. Sainte-Marthe's whole treatment of this text may be taken as typical of that which he employs throughout the Meditation with each verse or portion of a verse in turn. The Meditation opens with a reflection upon the vanity of all things compared to his blessedness "qui habitat in ad-

jutorio altissimi." The flesh may set hopes upon riches "tanquam in sacra quadam anchora";[1] but thief, fire, dice or a rapacious lord can bring the rich man into direst poverty, and if chance do not despoil, yet death must. Not the rich man, then, is happy, but he who dwelleth under the defense of the Most High, "qui habitat in adjutorio altissimi." Ambition for honors, again, tickles many; for those who have them are esteemed and sought for by the people, theirs are the first places and they are at the helm of public affairs, while private men remain inglorious and despised, "qualicunque virtute illustrentur."[2] Yet the examples of history show it unsafe to glory in the dignities and honors of the world or to depend upon the uncertain favors of the crowd which pulls down its own favorites, "et quos fuerat inaudito favore prosecutus, ex inopinato, capitali ac intestino odio perdidit."[3] The corrupt functionary, however high his honors, will certainly be punished "utcunque procrastinet Deus ac ultionem differat"; but on the other

[1] *In Psalmum xc . . . Medit.*, 9 v°.
[2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.*, fol. 10 r°.

hand, the upright, if incorruptible, can hardly escape exasperating some one in power, and runs the risk of being destroyed or accused of a capital crime. How can he be happy, then, who shines in honors so uncertain? Far happier he "qui habitat in adjutorio altissimi." And courtiers, "qui sunt Principibus a latere, a manibus, ab auribus, a secretis," their fortune seems to be a smiling one; but their future how uncertain! "Put not your trust in princes nor in any child of man;" more prudent he "qui habitat in adjutorio altissimi." Still, there are friends to whom the fallen may turn. None can doubt the necessity of friendship in the human race, "nisi simul ambigat, sint ne mundo aqua et ignis res necessariæ,"[1] and a true friend is an incomparable treasure; but man is subject to vanity, only God it is who does not change. In prosperity a man has many friends, but in ill fortune his false friends, "ore tenus amici isti," desert him "in mediis fluctibus," as alloy of gold passes away in the smoke of the furnace. The wise man, then, is not he that puts all his trust in friends with whom he has feasted, "cum

[1] *In Psalmum xc . . . Medit.*, fols. 10 r° and v°.

quibus salis modios multos consumpsit," but he, "qui habitat in adjutorio altissimi." And what shall be said of those who conceive of pleasure as the highest good? Sainte-Marthe draws a telling picture of men of pleasure: "potant, ludunt, rident, stertunt, scortantur: et quidquid concupiscit in eis caro, id perficiunt." None live more peaceably than the votaries of pleasure, no one troubles them, their busy concern to fulfil the desires of the great recommends them to these. They succeed in every way, in fact. What could be happier, were it not that such a life is as hateful to God as pleasing to the world and to the flesh? But, apart from the diseases and sudden deaths which they may entail, pleasures are unhappy things if only for this reason, — that they shut us out from the company of the blessed. The man of pleasure is not happy as is he "qui habitat in adjutorio altissimi."[1] Nor are they any happier who are swollen with the wisdom of this world and trust in 'works' and 'merits.' The wisdom of the flesh is hostile to God; it is folly in His sight. And here Sainte-Marthe again embarks

[1] *In Psalmum xc . . . Medit.*, fol. 11 r°.

upon a discussion of 'merits' and of 'grace,' concluding that all is well, not with him who measures his justification only by 'merits,' but with him "qui habitat in adjutorio altissimi."[1]

His treatment of this first text shows Sainte-Marthe at his best. His application of the scriptures to the experience, spiritual and actual, of his readers rings true. No doubt, as they read, comparisons and examples occurred to them of the loss of riches, fall from place, betrayal of friendship, disease or death as the result of indulgence, — all common enough in that age of intrigue and excess. But the most striking feature of the passage is its well conceived and carefully followed form, and in that respect also it is typical of the whole Meditation. The central idea is never obscured; Sainte-Marthe never forgets that he is dealing with the protection God affords to his elect and the benefits that must accrue to them through such protection; and to this matter he confines his commentary upon one verse after another. To treat of the relation of God to the soul, however, must almost necessarily include some ex-

[1] *In Psalmum xc . . . Medit.*, fol. 11 v°.

planation of the world as it is. For Sainte-Marthe the key to the problem of the actual world is to be found in the doctrine of Providence, presented in an aspect at least suggestive of the fuller sense in which, in the next century, that doctrine was permanently codified for the Gallican church by Bossuet. Sainte-Marthe had already treated this subject in the Paraphrase on the Seventh Psalm, written in resentful distress, but there he lays more emphasis upon the problem than upon its resolution. The flesh would persuade the faithful that God must love those whom He favors here and hate those whom He afflicts, and so even the righteous have felt; and Sainte-Marthe instances Job, David, Jeremiah, Habakkuk. He reminds God, indeed, of His promises and exhorts Him to help His servants, but his tone is actually far from being that of Christian hope, and what he seems to ask is vengeance rather than justice. In the Paraphrase he touches, indeed, in passing on the solution of the problems of an unjust world, but does not treat the subject of Providence exhaustively, while in the Meditation he gives his views fuller utterance. And even here, though

he presents it in various passages of the Meditation, it is only in his treatment of the concluding words of the Psalm that Sainte-Marthe fully sets forth his conception of God's part in the government of the world.[1] Here, also, the difficulty is indeed clearly propounded, but the stress is upon its solution rather than upon the problem itself. God the ruler of this world, this life for trial, eternity for final adjustment; here is the proper explanation. This world, then, is to be endured as it is. Elsewhere Sainte-Marthe had pointed out that, for God's reasons, power belongs to princes "quibus non sine caussa à Deo commissus gladius est"; that the persecutor may be God's instrument; the rich, God's stewards.[2] Here he elaborates. What seem evils to man are so little so in the eyes of God that, unless they befall the elect and pious, His promises are not fulfilled.[3] God's promises require that there shall be tribulations in this world, or what can be their meaning? Worldly wisdom may ob-

[1] *In Psalmum xc . . . Medit.*, fols. 47 r°, 50 r°.

[2] *In Psalmum Septimum . . . Paraph.*, pp. 128, 127; *In Psalmum xc . . . Medit.*, fol. 16 r°.

[3] *In Psalmum xc . . . Medit.*, fol. 47 v°.

serve that the followers of Christ are in this world despised and wretched, "inglorii, explosi, despicabiles, ignominii, lapidati, pauperes, et modis omnibus adflicti," although God had promised them glory.[1] "O cæcum Carnis judicium," exclaims Sainte-Marthe, exhorting the Christian to shake off the trammels of such reasoning: "absurdas hujusmodi et impias ratiocinationes (si modo animum tuum semel occupaverint) quam ocissime excutias."[2] If God exalts some to honor and increases them in riches, for the most part He renders the heirs of eternal glory wretched and despised. He is the only master of riches, honors; He is their dispenser and bestower. Sainte-Marthe urges those who are powerful and noble in this world to beware lest they forget God who exalted them. Let them never forget that they are stewards, not lords, of what they possess. Let them not hastily conclude that the poor and wretched are hated by God. Let them rather revere and embrace them as God's favorites.[3] Yet, on the other hand, it is not to be supposed that the

[1] *In Psalmum xc . . . Medit.*, fols. 47 v° and 48 v°.
[2] *Ibid.*, fol. 48 v°. [3] *Ibid.*

Lord is less pleased with those whom He does not test with outward crosses: "Nam licet Reges, Principes et summates, autoritate valeant, divitiis abundent, honorati sint, atque vivere videantur pacatissimi, sentiunt tamen in spiritu crucem, alius graviorem, alius leviorem: hic uno, ille alio modo: ac frequenter in majoribus angustiis et doloribus versantur, quam qui in hominum oculis pares cum Hiobo adflictiones sustinent."[1] Only those live ill who have no cross at all in this world. It is not here that God's promises are ultimately fulfilled. When He promises, "with long life will I satisfy him," He means eternal life. It is that eternal life which is to justify and explain the life here. Time is lord of this world; "long life" cannot be lived out here. Sainte-Marthe elaborates this idea in a passage singularly eloquent; and his words upon the transitoriness of time sound again a faint prelude to Bossuet's famous passage on a similar subject: "Regit et gubernat Mundum Tempus; constat autem illud momentis, horis, diebus, mensibus ac annis. Certis horis dies, certis diebus mensis, certis mensi-

[1] *In Psalmum xc . . . Medit.*

bus annus constituitur; certis item annis vitæ humanæ spatium et curriculum terminatur: ubi tu in Mundo longitudinem dierum reperies? Cælum et terra transibunt; id ita futurum esse soli inficiantur, qui verbo Dei veritatem et certitudinem tollunt: quid est aliud transire, quam finem accipere, ubi autem finis inibi certe longitudo dierum esse non potest." [1]

Sainte-Marthe's explanations of the intellectual difficulties of the Christian are not always so plausible as this. For instance, when he tries a fall with objections to the doctrine of predestination, he does not escape the vicious circle. It is not in our power of will to cry to God or pray to Him for what is good. So they conclude "qui te simul cum eis languidum, torpentem, ac stupidum esse volent." [2] They do not cry to God, exclaims Sainte-Marthe, because they do not wish to; they would cry if they willed to, but they cannot will it because they have separated themselves from Him who gives to all the gift both of right willing and of executing the right.[3] But such vain reasoning is

[1] *In Psalmum xc . . . Medit.*, fol. 49 v°.
[2] *Ibid.*, fol. 46 v°. [3] *Ibid.*

exceptional with Sainte-Marthe. As a rule he shows himself in the Meditation both clear and logical.

Nor are clearness, consistency, certainty of appeal, the only literary merits of this work. The power of graphic description, of which Sainte-Marthe had made much good use in his Funeral Orations, is no less in evidence in the Meditation. A comparison of the hypocrite to the wolf in sheep's clothing may be taken as an example. It was a favorite subject, on which Sainte-Marthe had already expatiated in his earliest Paraphrase.[1] With half a page of realistic touches he sets before us the Tartuffe of his generation, whose name, for Sainte-Marthe, was doubtless Mulet. "Sic hypocrita, jejunio se macerabit, lachrymis se conficiet, totas noctes in oratione pernoctabit, pannosus ac impexus in medium prodibit, sua charitatis nomine profuse largietur, viduas, vinctos, ac pupillos visitabit et solabitur, mundum detestabitur, atque de cœlesti patria semper loquetur. Hæc omnio veræ pietatis opera esse, nemo (nisi impius) negabit: set si tu interim examines, qualis sit homo interior

[1] *In Psalmum Septimum . . . Paraph.*, pp. 59 and 66.

simulatæ istius sanctitatis, experiere profecto, sanctulum tuum avaritia æstuare, caligare adfectibus, in vindictam toto studio ferri, ambitione exardescere, superbia infiari, spurca venere dissolui, ac denique nihil minus esse, quam cui assimilatur: et ut in summa dicam, sub hac persona, omnis generis vitia pro virtutibus sese venditant."[1] There are many such graphic passages. The wayfarer, "qui media nocte in obscuro loco ambulat, quo vadat plane ignorant; ac nisi, aut lumen habeat aut ducem, periculum est ne in foveam aliquam incidat, vel in lapidem aliquem impingat, vel sese parietibus illidat";[2] Satan, busying himself all in vain, — "frustra tibi insidias struit, frustra laqueos tendit, frustra lapides in via tua jacit"[3] — these are examples of the many images which Sainte-Marthe with unerring skill brings before the "inward eye."

Nor, although the occasions for eloquence are fewer, is the Meditation behind the Funeral Orations in oratorical enthusiasm. If the language of the Meditation is pictorial, its appeal

[1] *In Psalmum xc . . . Medit.*, fol. 28 r°.
[2] *Ibid.*, fol. 24 v°. [3] *Ibid.*, fols. 24 v° and 40 v°.

to the ear is hardly less than to the visualizing faculty. The fire and force of the orator burst out again and again. Sainte-Marthe deals in exclamations, in the rhetorical question, in telling repetitions of word or phrase, in sentences too obviously balanced. It is difficult at times for the reader to persuade himself that he is perusing a pious meditation, and not listening to impassioned if somewhat artful rhetoric. It seems certain, at least, that Sainte-Marthe must more than once have imagined himself addressing a responsive audience rather than an unimpassioned reader. He seems to lash himself with sound, and, if the effect is sometimes of over-excitement, he generally succeeds in evading mere emptiness, the pitfall of the writer who relies more on sound than sense. Arrived at the verse which promises the faithful deliverance and protection, Sainte-Marthe pauses in his exegesis to exclaim: "O mellita verba! o felicem promissionem iis omnibus qui Deo fidunt! Vides o Vir pie, quæ sit merces Fidei et Spei tuæ: nempe liberatio. Habitare in adjutorio altissimi, dicere illi, susceptor meus es et refugium meum es tu: quid aliud est, quam

spem in eum suam defigere?"[1] Again, when he treats of the transitoriness of human satisfactions, the rhetorical skill of the form is matched by the penetration of the thought: "Quis est, qui, si immortales divitiæ, honorès ac voluptates essent, non cuperet in earum protectione commorari? Quis fugeret Principum aulas, si una cum ipsis, favor ac amicitia illorum perennis et incommutabilis foret? Quis sese totum amicorum fidei non devoveret, si cum corporibus, amicitiæ nexus non dissolueretur? Quis opera sua ac merita omnia non adoraret, cui esset certissimum, illa Deum sic intueri, ut pro sola operum qualitate, sine sua gratia, nobis justitiam dividat?"[2] But perhaps the best example of Sainte-Marthe's hortatory style is his summing up of the proper Christian view of misfortune: "Si quidquam tuæ fidei seruandum commisero, dicesne a me injuriam te accepisse id si repetam? Sanus eras, in morbum incidisti: dives eras in penuriam prolapsus es: in precio apud homines eras, nunc inglorius, ab omnibus explodèris: pacificam ducebas vitam, nunc te

[1] *In Psalmum xc . . . Medit.*, fol. 43 v°.
[2] *Ibid.*, fol. 12 r°.

impetunt omnes: heri vivebas, hodie ad morte petraheris: quid quod tuum esset, perdidisti Sanitatem tibi, divitias, honores, pacem et vita etiam ipsam, Deus ut creditor commodarat, quo suum est repetit ac tibi aufert, qua tibi exposta landi relinquitur occasio?"[1] Sainte-Marthe, fo all such telling power of rhetoric, is not alway free from the puerilities which beset the pu fervid orator. There is at least one example o that legacy from the schoolmen, the wearisom analysis of meaning, from which modern pulpit are not even yet entirely freed. In whose de fense, asks Sainte-Marthe, shall the righteou dwell? and here, where the dithyrambic question and replies of the Twenty-fourth Psalm migh have occurred to him, he prefers a needless an childish explanation of what God is and is not Well, the question is not of the protection o Satan, the god of this world, not of that un known god of the Athenians; the righteou shall not dwell in the defense of sculptured gods and images, — idols whom the Gentile worshiped instead of God — nor in that of th god of the Epicureans, whose god is their belly

[1] *In Psalmum xc . . . Medit.*, fol. 30 v°.

nor in that of the god of misers and usurers, for whom money holds the place of God, but in the protection of the God of heaven, etc.[1]

Sainte-Marthe does not often, it is fair to say, fight with windmills in this fashion, but the Meditation cannot be even so far acquitted of the vice of artificiality of another sort. The years which had given him, with a knowledge of life, a firm touch upon his instrument and a sure instinct for the telling appeal, had also strengthened its author's skill and subtlety in the art — as such he probably regarded it — of far-fetched interpretation, the counterpart of which is that conceited treatment of poetic themes, wherein, as has been shown, Sainte-Marthe was an early adept. At the time he composed his Meditation, that poetic vogue was nearing its height; and it was natural that, even when writing religious prose, and even in Latin, Sainte-Marthe should show traces of its influence upon his manner. The reader almost catches him casting about for quotation and illustration to fit some fantastical explanation of the text. Perhaps this weakness

[1] *In Psalmum xc . . . Medit.*, fol. 12 v°.

could hardly be better illustrated than by his treatment of the twelth and thirteenth verses of the Psalm, promising the faithful that angels shall bear him up in their hands lest he dash his foot against a stone, and that he shall go upon the lion and the adder, and tread the young lion and the dragon under his feet. Such images gave Sainte-Marthe unlimited scope for ingenuity more accomplished than edifying, and he elaborates the theme with obvious delight.[1] Beginning with a long exposition of the functions of angels good and bad, he illustrates liberally with scriptural examples. He treats in all seriousness an imagined objection, whimsical enough: "Quid audio? (dices) Angelos me manibus suis sublevaturos? Atqui, quum Angeli sint spiritus et spiritus carnem et ossa non habeant, qui fieri poterit, ut manus habere queant?"[2] Thereupon he enters upon a long disquisition on the use of the word *hand*, as, in an earlier passage, he is at pains, as if confronted with a real difficulty, to explain the shoulders (in our version, wings) and feathers of the fourth verse.[3] The stone is

[1] *In Psalmum xc . . . Medit.*, fols. 37 v°–43 v°.
[2] *Ibid.*, fol. 39 r°.
[3] *Ibid.*, fol. 21 r°.

of course, the stone of stumbling, against which all must fall in the darkness of this world; as, again, it is the stone which the builders rejected, destined to become the headstone of the corner; and Sainte-Marthe cannot resist interpolating that Satan also spreads temptations like stones. It is, however, when he comes to deal with the lion and the adder, the young lion and dragon, or rather, as the Vulgate has it, "Aspidem et Basiliscum . . . Leonem et Draconem," that Sainte-Marthe is most *precieux* and most far-fetched. Pliny, fortunately or unfortunately, had treated of all these creatures,[1] and, as I have already implied in an earlier page, Sainte-Marthe is indebted to the Latin author for his conception of them. If an asp bite a man, all the afflicted parts must be cut away; so if Satan has instilled his poison, there is no hope for the victim's soul unless the corrupt affections are cut away. The breath, no less than the touch, of the basilisk destroys plant and animal; so the devil irremediably destroys those whom he touches with his breath, which Sainte-Marthe

[1] *Cf.* Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, VIII, Chaps. XXXV, XXXIII, XII, XIX.

chooses to interpret as his subtle temptations. The dragon hides in river beds and surprises elephants and other creatures; Satan, whom the scripture in fact terms "Draconem serpentem antiquum,"[1] lies in ambush to devour the unwary. The lion attacks his prey openly, but is terrified by fire; so Satan visibly assails those whom he cannot deceive by guile. Nor does Sainte-Marthe forget to quote St. Peter's comparison of the devil to the roaring lion, walking about and seeking whom he may devour. And what fire can terrify him but that fire of which David said, "Ignitum eloquium tuum," and Solomon, "omnis sermo Dei ignitus," the fire indeed with which Christ put him to flight?[2] When the devil transforms himself into an angel of light or tempts to sins of the flesh, he is an asp, a basilisk, a dragon; when he performs the works of Satan, he is a lion. Serve sin, Sainte-Marthe continues after a digression, and you will be devoured by the lion, of whom it is written "tanquam a conspectu serpentis fuge peccatum: nam si acceseris mordebit te. Dentes leonini sunt dentes ipsius animis homi-

[1] *Apoc.* chap. xx, 2.

[2] *I.e.* at the Temptation, with the words of Scripture.

nium exitiales." Sainte-Marthe takes up the ensuing verses only after he has made all the scriptural allusions to lions, adders, basilisks and dragons which come to mind, beginning with David's exclamation, "Thou breakest the heads of the dragon in the waters,"[1] which Sainte-Marthe explains as referring to Pharaoh and the princes of Egypt.

Such a passage as this has many a counterpart in Sainte-Marthe's Meditation; the arrow that flieth by day is pride; the terror by night is despair from consciousness of sin; the "Dæmonium Meridianum" of the Vulgate[2] is Satan "transformed into an angel of light." He can be detected only by the true light which gleams in the Christian's shield of truth.[3] Perhaps Sainte-Marthe comes nearest to a true *conceit* when treating of the arrows which the Lord sends by the ministry of Satan, arrows called "fiery darts" when they tempt to concupiscence, anger, impatience, blasphemies, or desperation. Con-

[1] *Psalm* lxxiv, v. 14.

[2] In the English version, "the sickness that destroyeth in the noonday."

[3] *In Psalmum xc . . . Medit.*, fols. 26 v°, 24 v°, 27 v°, 28 v°.

meeting with this St. Paul's exhortation to take the shield of faith wherewith to "quench all the fiery darts of the wicked." Sainte-Marthe proceeds to elaborate the idea. This sort of dart kindles in him whom it wounds eternal fires, and leaves behind only desperation unless the waters of saving wisdom, faith, that is, in the divine promises, quench them.[1] While all this is in line with scriptural imagery, its elaboration of metaphor savors of the literary fashion of the day. The Scriptures indeed supply the arrow that flieth by day, the arrows of the Lord and their poison, the fiery darts of the wicked, and the command to quench these, but it is perhaps not too much to say that the Petrarchist in Sainte-Marthe gathered these images together and added the figure of the water of wisdom. Such tendency to elaborate metaphor leads Sainte-Marthe in his Meditation into grievous breaches of taste. Still, it may fairly be said that the faults of the Meditation are far more than offset by its merits. If occasionally it inclines to "sound and fury, signifying nothing," or to far-fetched elaboration of metaphors, it

[1] *In Psalmum xc . . . Medit.*, fol. 37 v°.

it is not wholly free from errors of taste, the Meditation is yet on the whole a performance worthy the author of the Funeral Orations.

The coherence of its structure, its careful sequence, the skill and finish of its style, its telling application of worldly experience to the spiritual life, its persuasive eloquence, not only set it far above Sainte-Marthe's two other Latin works, but distinguish it among the numerous Latin productions of the time. It shines, also, by the unaffected grace and fluency of its language, among works whose effort after Ciceronian style resulted too often in clumsy and obscure periods. In the mere use of language and in pictorial power, as in piety profoundly felt, the Meditation can perhaps hardly claim superiority over the two Paraphrases; but in other respects Sainte-Marthe's Latin works exhibit steady gain in power and skill. The Paraphrase on the Seventh Psalm, for all its vigorous language, is too violent, too crude, and too confused to claim much admiration from its readers, while that on the Thirty-third Psalm arrests attention by its ardor and its occasionally poetic eloquence. Both these works, however, might not unjustly

author could not justly defy serious app
to Sainte-Marthe's best and latest w
Meditation on the Ninetieth Psalm.

CHAPTER V

Conclusion

With the Latin works, the tale of Sainte-Marthe's productions comes to an end.[1] It must

[1] We know that he had, at least in hand, at one time or another, the following works, of which one, at least, was published: a theological work (*cf.* letters of Breton and Arlier, *supra*, pp. 51 and 72); a translation of parts of Theocritus (*cf.* Dedication of the *P. F.* to the Duchesse d'Estampes, *infra*, p. 563); a Book of Elegies (*cf. Au Lecteur, P. F., infra*, p. 565); a "Livre de la conjunction des quatres Langues" (*cf. Au Lecteur* (*errata*), *P. F.*, p. 224); a work on Funeral Rites (*cf.* Dedication to Galbert, *In the Psalmum Septimum . . . Paraph., infra*, p. 574); a Legal Anthology (*cf. ibid.*); Commentaries on the One Hundred and Eighteenth Psalm (*cf.* Letter to Furnæus, *infra*, p. 583); a metrical translation of the Psalms (*cf.* Letter to Olivier, *infra*, p. 585). Colletet mentions "une belle paraphrase Latine des sept pseaumes de penitence qui a été fort bien reçue, et dont quelques auteurs latins de l'illustre société de Jesus ont fait mention." *Vie des poëtes françois*, fol. 447 v°. This may be a reference to the preceding, or a garbled version of the *In Psalmum Septimum et Psalmum xxxiii, Paraphrasis, cf.* p. 164, note 2.

Brunet mentions (*art. Dolet*) a "Discours de Charles de Sainte-Marthe *Au lecteur francois*," as included in a sepa-

[illegible] not of any great originality - influe
many directions by the new intellectual
and interests of his time and yet [illegible]
[illegible] and admiration to the ways
Petrus Provostius he proclaims himself a
admirer of Maro and freely imitate
practising the older forms of poetry:
withal an early Petrarchist, and, strang
trast still, an early Platonist also, apply
Platonism not only to love, but also to t
poses of a sincere piety. In the Paraph
makes it evident that his sympathies a
the new reformers, yet he must conciliat
siastical authority; indeed, in his situa
the time he wrote the Paraphrases, not t
might have cost him his life. In his
Orations he appears as the ardent hu

rate (1560) edition of *La forme et maniere de la po*
et accents de la langue francoise etc., a treatise o
forming part of Dolet's *La maniere de bien trad*

the convinced admirer of ancient life and wisdom, yet averse to the paganism into which the sixteenth century humanists were so easily led; above all as a confirmed lover of Plato, and yet, somewhat regretfully, so the reader may like to fancy, treating Christians and Platonists as belonging to separate groups. In his Latin works, especially in his Meditation on the Ninetieth Psalm, he may be tracked by the curious reader to classical sources that betray the humanist, while his method is largely that of scholasticism. For final contrast, he can shock the reader of his Meditation, a work instinct with the profundities of Christian piety, by dedicating it, in the interests of a family feud, to the author of a base and hateful attack upon his great contemporary, Rabelais.

Beyond a doubt, it is Sainte-Marthe's inclination to new ideas which gives him, as the author of the *Poesie Francoise*, a claim to consideration. Even a prejudiced reader must confess the intrinsic worth of that volume but slight. Its epigrams are indeed neat, pointed, even polished, but its epigrams form an inconsiderable portion of its content. The remainder has only rare

flashes of grace and poetic feeling to redeem its heavy prolixity. If Sainte-Marthe is to be considered as a contributor to French literature, it must be on the merits of his two Funeral Orations. There, accomplished learning, as the time measured learning, is supported by graceful narrative, a highly concrete descriptive gift, insight, and a sense for language which resulted in touching eloquence. By these gifts Sainte-Marthe made the Orations the convincing vehicle of genuine emotion. As for the Latin works, they cannot, of course, be considered in the light of a contribution to French literature, but neither can they be neglected in measuring the worth of Sainte-Marthe's literary production. The influence of contemporary Latin literature upon French prose style in its earlier stages still remains to be studied, but it may be asserted that it was not without its effect; and Sainte-Marthe's Paraphrases and Meditation should have their weight in any consideration of such influence, clothing as they do ideas in images often elaborate, and both in Latin prose noticeable for its simplicity in an age when ornate Latinity was a thing to boast of.

Apart from the interest which these productions must have for a student of the early Renaissance, Sainte-Marthe's mere personality arrests the attention, owing to the varying scenes and influences amid which his life was passed. He spent his childhood in a monastery, famous and closely connected with the court, at a time when it had just passed through an interesting reform. He was a student at the University at Poitiers when it was shaken by the profound spiritual excitement of Calvin's early preaching; a teacher at the new "collège" at Bordeaux, and later in that newly re-organized at Lyons, when both were in the ferment which the new learning infused into education. He was acquainted with Greek and Hebrew at a time when a knowledge of these tongues was still new.

Sainte-Marthe, it will be seen, had his share, if in the main but a passive one, in all the high emotion of that passionate time. His share was, in point of fact, not invariably passive. Undoubtedly inclining to the new religious doctrines, in touch for a moment at least with Calvin and Genevan Reform, he endured, as we have seen, his meed of imprisonment and suffering, but

played, it is probable, no very valiant part in the drama of Reform, just as he played no very telling one in the vigorous literary movement of his time. Early connected with the men who were to form the famous Lyonnese school, he is perhaps more noteworthy for his connection with them than for his undeniable anticipation of their themes. His associations, in fact, were in themselves enough to preserve his name to posterity. He looks back to Marot and Saint-Gelais, on the one hand, and on the other welcomes in Ronsard, Du Bellay, and the new school. Himself possessed of fluent Latin and a close friend of elaborate Ciceronians, he shared with Dolet his enthusiasm for his native speech no less than his interest in Latinity. He was bound by ties of service, intimacy or affection to people as diverse as Calvin and Marguerite of Navarre, Ducher and Scève, Puy-Herbault and Boissoné. His association with the Queen of Navarre was so intimate that the choice of an orator for the memorial service at Alençon fell upon him; and his second Funeral Oration was the outcome of his familiar place in another household hardly less closely connected with

the fortunes of France; for the Duchesse of Beaumont's family included the father of Henry IV, the victor of Ceresolles, the Cardinal de Bourbon, afterwards titular king, Charles X, of the League, and the founder of the house of Condé. The traces left by Sainte-Marthe of his activities as *Procureur général* of Beaumont under Antoine de Bourbon have their interest also as shedding light upon the life of the time.

It is perhaps partly as the result of this variety of association and activity that Sainte-Marthe leaves with his readers above all a sense of confusion; of eloquence whose flow is somewhat ill-ordered; of a feeling for language emotional rather than intellectual; of an imagination excited and disturbed. He may profess indeed, as in his Funeral Orations for example, to proceed upon a definite plan of composition, but the result is not the more organic, and only in his Meditation can there be said to be anything like structure. We must not, then, set down Charles de Sainte-Marthe as a poet of great worth, nor even as a finished writer of prose or an accomplished latinist, but rather as a writer whose remains prove him to have taken

an eager and early part in running nearly every fruitful idea which found its way to France during the quarter-century of his mature existence. It would be hard, indeed, to discover a more typical average man of the Renaissance than Sainte-Marthe, or one who more aptly illustrates the effect upon a man of imagination and talents of its conflicting currents, its rich confusion.

APPENDIX

SCÉVOLE DE SAINTE-MARTHE'S LIFE OF CHARLES AND JACQUES DE SAINTE-MARTHE.

Carolus et Jacobus Samarthani.

Ne tamen videar (quod ille ait) alienos agros colere, proprium negligere, liceat hic postremò celebrare duo Sammarthanæ gentis honestamenta Carolum & Jacobum patruos meos: quorum alter Jurisprudentiam, alter Medicinam coluit, vterque Græcam linguam, philosophiam & ingenuas omnes artes non leviter aut perfunctoriè, sed serio diligenterque amplexus est. Diverso tamen more nec eodem studiorum instituto. Carolus enim, auræ popularis avidior, perutiles de re sepulchrali commentarios itemque pias in Davidis carmina commentationes & multa varij generis poematia tum Latina tum Gallica publicavit, Jacobus autem licet Romani sermonis facultate perfectissimus, tamen quod homo esset inanis gloriæ nusquam appetens, totum istud scribendi studium facilè neglexit, uberrimas illas multiplicis eruditionis opes eodem quo seipsum tumulo conditurus, nisi hæredes earum reliquisset filios elegantiora studia cum exercitatione forensi doctissimè adæquantes. Hic Scævolæ patris vestigia secutus Lodoicæ & Leonoræ Borboniis cœnobij Fonte-

braldæi Principibus illustrissimis ad extremam usque senectutem non modo in arte medica, sed etiam in consiliis & omnibus magni momenti rebus fidelem navavit operam. Ille Margaretæ Navarræ auspicio causarum capitalium apud Alencconios præfecturam adeptus patronam fato functam luculentissima laudatione consecravit. Nec ita multo post, integro adhuc ævo nimia vi & copia sanguinis oppressus, emisit animam. Cum sanguis ipse ruptis vasis magno se impetu circum præcordia diffundens nativum repente calorem suffocasset.

—*Gallorum Doctrina Illustrium . . . Elogia, Liber II*, p. 195 *et seq.*

COLLETET'S TRANSLATION.

CHARLES ET JACQUES DE SAINTE-MARTHE.

De peur qu'il ne semble, comme dit un Ancien, qu'en cultivant les champs d'autruy, je neglige les miens propres, je pretens icy faire l'Eloge de ces deux ornemens de nostre Famille, Charles & Jacques de Sainte-Marthe mes deux oncles. Quoy qu'il fussent tous deux de profession differentes, & que l'un se fust adonné serieusement à la Jurisprudence, & l'autre à la Medecine: s'est-ce que tous deux ils furent semblables en ce poinct qu'ils se rendirent excellens dans l'intelligence de la langue Grecque, & que tous deux ils s'appliquerent profondement à la Philosophie, & à la cognoissance de tous les autres arts liberaux. Ils les practiquerent neantmoins diversement, & n'eurent pas un mesme but dans des estudes semblables. Car Charles qui aimoit passionnément ceste reputation que l'on ac-

quiert à la Cour, & parmy le Peuple, apres avoir composé vn tres-docte & tres utile discours des Sepultures & des Pompes funebres, & composé de doctes & de pieux Commentaires sur des Pseaumes de David, avec plusieurs autres Poëmes Françoise & Latins sur de differentes matieres, eut soin de mettre tous ces ouvrages au Jour. Quant à Jacques de Sainte-Marthe, quoy qu'il cognust en perfection toutes les graces de la langue Latine, si est-ce que n'estant pas touché du desir de la gloire qui s'acquiert à composer des livres, il negligea tellement la peine que l'on prend à les escrire, que tous les thresors des diverses sciences qu'il possedoit, eussent esté enfermés avec luy dans vn mesme tombeau, si, par les doctes & frequentes conferences, il ne les eust communiquez à Louis, & à François de Sainte-Marthe ses enfans, qui scavent encore auiourd'huy marier dignement la function du barreau auec l'exercise des belles lettres. Jacques, marchant donc ainsi sur les traces de son Pere Scevole, servit jusques a vne extresme vieillesse ces deux Princesses illustres, Louise, & Leonor de Bourbon, Abbesses de Fontevrault, non seulement en qualité de leur Medecin ordinaire mais encore comme vn fidele Conseiller, qu'elles consultoient utilement pour elles, & glorieusement pour luy dans toutes leurs affaires importantes. Quant à Charles de Sainte-Marthe, il s'insinua dans les bonnes graces de Marguerite Royne de Navarre, & comme ce fut par sa faueur qu'il obtint l'Office de Lieutenant Criminel de la ville d'Alençon, apres la mort de ceste excellente Princesse, il creût que pour recognoistre en quelque sorte les bienfaicts qu'il avoit receus d'elle pendant sa vie, il estoit de son

debvoir de faire son Oraison funebre apres sa mort. Ce qu'il fit certes avec vn grand applaudissement de toute la France. Mais peu de temps apres il se sentit pressé luy mesme de suivre sa bonne Maîtresse. Car comme il estoit d'une humeur extrémement sanguine, une abondance de sang sortie de ses veines avec violence & impetuosité, malgre les vaisseaux qui le contenoient, ayant esteint sa chaleur naturelle, il en fut suffoqué tout a coup, & en mourut en la fleur de son aage, l'an 1555.

—*Eloges des Hommes Illustres*, Liv. III, pp. 372-374.

PERSONS TO WHOM SAINTE-MARTHE ADDRESSED LINES IN THE *POESIE FRANCOISE*.

ALEIN:

A Monsieur d'Alein d'Arles. Que l'homme medisant de la Femme mesdict de soy mesme. p. 14.

ARBIGNY:

A Madame Anne d'Arbigny, Dame de la Val en Daulphiné. p. 89.

BECONNE:

A Madamoiselle de Beconne. p. 193.

BENAC:

A Jean Benac. De soy. p. 93.

BERINGUE:

De Beringue s'Amye et de soy. p. 14.

A Madamoiselle Beringue, de la servitude d'Amour. p. 17.

A Mademoiselle Beringue. p. 22.

De Madamoiselle Beringue. p. 54.

D'elle mesme & de soy. p. 54.

A Madamoiselle Beringue. p. 56.

BERINGUE:

A Madamoiselle Beringue, Que son Amour est immortelle. p. 58.

A Madamoiselle Beringue, Que nostre Esperance doibt estre en Dieu. p. 66.

A ma Damoiselle Beringue, Quel martyre c'est, brusler d'affection, & n'oser parler pour la descouvrir. p. 75.

A Madamoiselle Beringue, De Liberte & Servitude provenante Par amour. p. 78.

A Madamoiselle Beringue, Que leur Amour ne se pourra minuer pour les mesdisants. p. 86.

A Madamoiselle Beringue, Que rien ne vault commencer un bien, sans l'aschever. p. 91.

A Madamoiselle Beringue, De leur Honneste & irreprehensible Amour. p. 145.

BIGOT:

A Guiliaulme Bigot homme tresconsommé en Philosophie. p. 93.

BOISSONÉ:

A Monsieur Boissoné, Conseiller à Chambery. Qu'on se doibt fier, au seul Seigneur, non aux Hommes. p. 57.

BOUREL:

A Edmond Bourel Chanoine de Romans en Daulphiné. Que (suivant l'ordonnance de Dieu) mieulx vault se marier, que d'entretenir Paillardes. p. 87.

BRESSIEUX. *Cf.* GROLÉE-MEVOUILLON and VERNAISON.

CHAUSSON:

A Maurice Chausson, vers Alexandrins. p. 66.

CHEREAU :

A Geoffroy Chereau estant malade, Qu'on se doibt esgalement porter en prosperité & adversité. p. 67.

CLAVEYSON, EXUPÈRE DE :

Au Seigneur de Parnans. Qu'au bien d'Amour, rien nest plus nuysant, que jouyssance. p. 13.

A noble Exupere de Claveyson, Seigneur de Parnans, responce à son dixain. p. 24.

Au Seigneur de Parnans. De quelcun qui disoit qu'il aymoit trop s'Amye. p. 31.

Au Seigneur de Parnans. Quoy que deux Amys se separent l'un de l'aultre, que toutefoy, sont tousjours presents. p. 35.

Au Seigneur de Parnans, Qu'aujourdhuy on est plus obeissant à vice qu'à Vertu. p. 87.

CLAVEYSON, LOUIS DE :

A Frere L. de Claveyson, prieur de Parnans. Que l'habit ne fait pas le Moyne. p. 60.

COLIN. *Cf.* Saint-Ambroise.

DALECHAMPS :

A Jacques Dalechamp. p. 106.

DOLET :

A monsieur Dolet, D'un Detracteur mesdisant de luy. p. 33.

Aux Francois, du Livre de Dolet, de la langue Francoise. p. 78.

Aux Francoys, en recommendation du Livre de Dolet, de la maniere de traduire, punctuer & accentuer, en nostre Langue. Avecques exhortation à tous Lettrés Francoys, s'aymer & soubstenir l'un l'aultre. p. 177.

DRUSAC, GRATIAN DUPONT, SIEUR DE:
A Drusac, detracteur du sexe Feminin. p. 94.
DU MOUCHET:
Au Seigneur du Mouchet, Que le bien Celeste doibt estre preferé au bien Mondain. p. 98.
DU PERAULT (PERON?):
A Madame du Perault. 155.
DU PERON. *Cf.* PIERREVIVE.
DU PONT. *Cf.* DRUSAC.
ENTRAIGUES, GUILLAUME DE BALZAC, BARON D':
Sur la naissance de la fille de Monsieur le Baron d'Entraigues.
ESTABLE. *Cf.* FAY.
ESTAMPES:
A Madame la Duchesse d'Estampes, luy presentant ses Oeuvres. p. 9.
De Madame la Duchesse d'Estampes. p. 20.
A Madame la Duchesse d'Estampes. p. 37.
A Madame la Duchesse d'Estampes. p. 62.
A Madame la Duchesse d'Estampes, luy recommandant son Oeuvre. p. 82.
A Madame La Duchesse d'Estampes. p. 125. And *cf. infra*, p. 531.
Elegie. Du Tempé de France, en l'honneur de Madame la Duchesse d 'Estampes, p. 197. And *cf. infra*, p. 537 *et seq.*
FAY, PAUL DE:
A noble Paule de Fay Seigneur d'Estables. p. 79.
FAY, MLLE. DE:
A Madamoiselle d'Estable sa seur d'alience. p. 159.

FERRON :

A Jean Ferron, pourqoy n'a respondu à ses adversaires. p. 15.

A Jean Ferron, Coq à Lasne. p. 141.

FRANCOIS I :

Au Roy treschrestien. p. 8.

GRENET :

A Monsieur le Chevalier Grenet au departir. p. 53.

GROLÉE-MEVOUILLON, ANTOINE DE :

A noble & puissant Seigneur Monsieur Anthoine de Muillion, Baron de Bressieux. De la misere de proces. p. 29.

A Monsieur le Baron de Bressieux, D'un qui mesdisoit de luy en son absence. p. 59.

A Monsieur le Baron de Bressieux, dequoy nous sommes au monde debiteurs. p. 72.

A noble & puissant Seigneur, Monsieur Antoine de Muillion, Baron de Bressieux, frere du susdict Seigneur de S. Pierre. p. 170.

GROLÉE-MEVOUILLON, FRANÇOIS DE :

A noble Seigneur, Monsieur Francois de Muillion, seigneur de Ribbiers, en le remerciant des biens qu'il luy a faictz. p. 34.

A Monsieur de Ribbiers, Qu'il fault esprouver l'amy. p. 73.

A Monsieur de Ribbiers. p. 188.

GROLÉE-MEVOUILLON, ANNE DE :

A R. Pere en DIEU, Monseigneur Anne de Grolée, Abbé de S. Pierre de Vienne. p. 166.

HAULTEVILLE:

A Madamoiselle de haulteville,[1] Comment Liberté & Servitude (deux contraires) peuvent durer ensemble. p. 99.

HONDREMARC (or ONDREMAR):

A Antoine Hondremarc Maistre D'Escholle à Romans. p. 69.

LA RIVIÈRE:

Au Seigneur de la Riviere Maistre d'hostel de Madame de la Val. Comment on doibt estre cault à faire un Amy. p. 96.

LA RUELLE:

A Charles de la Ruelle, Que toute Amytié doibt estre Fondée sur Vertu. p. 12.

LA TOUR:

A Madame Magdaleine de La Tour sa Soeur d'allience. p. 70.

LA VAL (ABBESSE DE):

A Madame l'Abbesse de la val en Daulphiné, estant Malade. 28. And *cf.* Arbigny.

LE FÈVRE:

A René le Fevre Que sur toutes bestes l'Homme est à craindre. p. 12.

LESTRANGE:

A Madame de L'estrange. p. 129.

[1] M. É. Picot identifies this personage with Isabelle de Haulteville, whom, in 1564, the Cardinal Odet de Chastillon married (wearing his Cardinal's robes for the occasion!), after living with her publicly for several years. *Les Français Italianisants au XVI^e Siècle*, Vol. II, p. 11, note 3. The date of Sainte-Marthe's volume, 1540, appears to cast some uncertainty upon this identification.

LISLE, DE :
A Hector de Lisle. p. 90.
LOYTAULDE :
A Madamoiselle Gacinette Loytaulde, Mere de Beringue s'Amye. p. 88.
MARGUERITE DE FRANCE :
A Madame Marguerite, fille unique du Roy. p. 122.
MARGUERITE DE NAVARRE :
A la Royne de Navarre. p. 8.
A la Royne de Navarre. p. 119.
MARILLAC :
A P. de Marillac, Comment on doybt prendre ce terme Fortune. p. 10.
Elegie A P. de Marillac, Que le Cueur fort magnanime, est le seul riche du Monde, par son contentement. p. 219.
MAROT :
A Marot d'un sien Valet, qu'i l'avoit desrobé. p. 13.
De la prudence de Clement Marot. p. 19.
A Clement Marot son pere d'alience. p. 55.
A Luy mesme, Luy recommendant ses Oeuvres vers Madame la Duchesse d'Estampes. p. 55.
A Marot. Du faulx bruict de sa Mort. p. 59.
MARQUET, MARIE :
A Madamoiselle Marie marquet, sa Mere, Qu Innocence, quoy qu'elle soit molestée, ne peut estre opprimée. p. 56.
MARQUET, PIERRE :
A noble Seigneur Pierre Marquet, Seigneur de la Bedouere, son oncle. p. 79.

MARRON:

A. F. I. Marron, pourquoy le vray bien est interdit. p. 56.

MERLIN:

A Jehan Merlin, Que nous sommes aveugles en nos faicts. p. 68.

MOLANS:

A Madame de Molans, pour Estrennes. p. 20.

MONGAILLARD:

A Monsieur le Capitaine Mongaillard. p. 103.

MONTAUSIER, LÉON DE SAINT MAUR, DUC DE:

A Monsieur le chevalier de monthozier. p. 102.

Elegie en forme d'epistre, a Monsieur le Chevalier de Monthozier, Que à qui Jesus ayde, rien ne peut nuyre. p. 205.

MOSNIER:

Epitaphe de feu Monsieur Maistre Foulcaud Mosnier, procureur de Fontevrault, & son Parrain, parlant en sa personne.

MUILLION. *Cf.* GROLÉE-MEVOUILLON.

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A MONSIEUR DOLET.

D'UN DETRACTEUR, MESDISANT DE LUY.

Si ce Baudet, ton scavoir tant peu prise,
Que cà & là, ton nom aille mordent,
Consideré sa tresfolle entreprise,
Ce n'est pas trop merveilleux accident.
Son meschant Cueur est assés evident,

Jà les enfants en vont à la moustarde.
Il cognoistrà plus à plain, quoy qu'il tarde,
Qu'il a gaigne prendre le frein aux dentz.
Mais à ce Sot, ne te fault prendre garde,
D'un Sac ne sort, que ce qui est dedans.

—*P. F.*, p. 33.

A Marot.

DU FAULX BRUICT DE SA MORT.

Il fut un bruit, ô Marot, qu'estois mort,
Et ce faulx bruit un menteur asseurà.
L'un d'un costé, se plaignoit de la Mort.
Faisant regret qui longuement durà.
L'aultre, par vers piteux la deplorà,
Gettant souspirs de dur gemissement.
Moy, de grand dueil plorant amerement,
Duquel estoit ma triste Ame saisie,
Las, dys ie, mort est nostre Amy Clement?
Morte donq' est Françoise Poësie.

—*P. F.*, p. 59.

A Jacques Dalechamp.

DIEU ne fault point à ses Amis,
Car en sa promesse il est stable,
L'homme, inconstant & variable,
Est de sa Foy soubdain demis.

Quoy qu'on se soit contre nous mis,
On n'a rien fait qui soit vallable,
Dieu ne fault point.

Avons nous plusieurs Ennemys
Usants d'un art cault & damnable?
L'amy se monstr'il trop muable?
Pource n'ayons le Cueur remis,
Dieu ne fault point.
—*P. F.*, p. 106.

A MADAME LA DUCHESSE D'ESTAMPES.

Juno, Venus, & Pallas, trois ensemble,
Ont heu debat merveilleux à vous veoir.
S'a dit Juno, mienne est comme me semble,
Pour son grand los, sa noblesse, & avoir,
Mais, fist Venus, pour moy la veulx avoir,
Car en beaulté au Monde n'a seconde.
Quoy, dist Pallas, sa tresnoble facunde,
Son bel Esprit, ses Graces, la font mienne.
Laquelle aurà des trois la Pomme ronde,
Pour vous tenir justement comme sienne?
—*P. F.*, p. 37.

A RENÉ LE FEVRE.
QUE SUR TOUTES BESTES, L'HOMME EST À CRAINDRE.

On craint le Loup, par Faim sortant du bois,
On craint un Ours, & un Lyon bruyant,
On craint Sangler eschauffé des abbois,
Pres poursuivy des Veneurs se veoyant,
On craint à veoir un Tigre fouldroyant,
Un chascun craint toutes Feres, en somme.
Mais moy, je crains sur toutes bestes l'Homme.
—*P. F.*, p. 12.

A Gabriel de Pontboise.

Demorgogon monte sur sa charrue,
Qui fait aller le Monde de travers,
Iris apres, se presente en la rue,
Laquelle fait des jugements divers:
Et puis, survient cest Ange tant pervers,
Qui crie hommage à la teste cresteé;
Les Bigarrés, regardants de travers,
Ont Astrea au chemin arresteé.

— *P. F.*, p. 15.

A Jean de saincte Marthe son cousin, Que nous debvons louer Dieu de tout.

Dieu soit loué de tout ce qu'il envoye,
Soit bien ou mal, maladie ou santé,
Si nous prenons en gré prosperité,
L'adversité fault aussi prendre en joye.

Estant en heur j'ay d'Amys grand montioye,
Mais en malheur chascun s'est absenté.
Loué soit Dieu.

Besoing nous est, qu'aulcune foy lon veoye
Si les Amys ayment par fermeté,
Celà nous monstre asses necessité,
Qu'on voise droict, ou bien la torte voye,
Dieu soit loué.

— *P. F.*, p. 85 *et seq.*

A DRUSAC, DETRACTEUR DU SEXE FEMININ.

C'est à bon droit (ainsi comme tu dis)
Que sans propos de la Femme mesdis,
Est ce a bon droit? villain tu as menty,
Le droit s'est il à celà consenty
Que soit raison d'user de tel mesdicts?

On peut juger de tes faicts par tes dicts,
En t'appellant (par tes escripts mauldicts)
Un detracteur de raison diuerty,
C'est à bon droit.

Estimes tu tes furieux edicts
Estre a ton vueil observés? & tandis
Que gents de bien maintiennent ton party?
Mais n'est tu pas de long temps adverty,
Q'ont mis au feu tes escripts estourdys?
C'est à bon droit.
—*P. F.*, p. 94.

AUX DETRACTEURS DU SEXE FEMININ.

Est ce bien fait, malignes Gents
D'ainsy mesdire de la Femme?
Dieu deffend de mal parler d'ame,
Vous luy estes contredisants.

Vous faites actes non duisants,
Et mettez sur elle le blasme,
Est ce bien fait?

Vous taschez par motets plaisant,
D'attirer à vous quelque Dame,
Et puis par vostre lourde game
En derriere estes medisants,
Est ce bien fait?
— *P. F.*, p. 82.

AUX MAISTRES & COMPAIGNONS DE L'IMPRIMERIE DE LYON, ESTANTS ENSEMBLE DIFFERENTS.

En bon accord il se fault maintenir,
Pour un Chrestien justement se tenir,
Maistres, & vous compaignons Imprimeurs.
Vous ne voyez les latentes malheurs.
Qui nous pourront de tels debats venir.

Vous ne pouvez l'un l'aultre entretenir,
Ains aymez mieulx querelles soubstenir,
Que vivre, pour vos proffits & honneurs,
En bon accord.

Maistres, saichez Compaignons retenir,
Vous Compaignons, leur debvez subvenir,
Et cy apres cessent tous ces clameurs.
Chassez de vous des noises les fauteurs,
A celle fin que puissez revenir
En bon accord.

Vous ferez tant, que DIEU, pour vous punir,
Ce tant noble Art permettra devenir
Plus vil, que n'est celuy des Chiquaneurs,
Esveillez donc tous ensemble vos Cueurs,
Et qu'on vous veoye unis à l'advenir,
En bon accord.
— *P. F.*, p. 104.

A UN, QUI LE DEHORTOIT DE METTRE SES OEUVRES EN LUMIÉRE.

Chascun Marot, escripvant, ne peut estre,
Pour attirer le Lecteur par doulx Stile.
Un chascun n'est comme Sceve bien dextre,
Pour fulminer d'invention subtile,
Chascun n'a pas son esprit tant fertile
Que Sainct Gelays, il ne sensuit pourtant,
Que celuy là qui n'en peut faire aultant,
En ses escriptz soit du tout inutile.

— *P. F.*, p. 52.

SUR LA FONTAINE DE VAUCLUSE PRES LAQUELLE JADIS HABITA PETRARCHE.

Quiconques veoit de la Sorgue profonde
L'etrange lien & plus estrange source,
La dit soubdain grand Merveille du Monde,
Tant pour ses eaulx, que pour sa roidde cource.
Je tiens le lien fort admirable, pource
Qu'on veoit tant eaulx d'un seul pertuis sortir.
Et en longz braz divers se departir.
Mais encor plus, du gouffre, qui bruit là,
Qu'onques ne peut estaindre & amortir
Le feu d'Amours, qui Petrarche brusla.

— *P. F.*, p. 21.

POURQUOY LON PAINCT CUPIDO EN ENFANCE.

Pourquoy painct lon Cupido Dieu d'Amour
Estant tousjours en tresplaisante enfance?
Est ce qu'il fait en jeunes Corpz sejour
Ou bien que lors il est en sa puissance?
Il s'ensuyeroit qu'Amour a deffaillance

[illegible] le temps de doleur & Hyuer.
C'est donc qu'il prend en mesme en jeunesse,
Et que plus est avec vigueur yeunist,
Tant plus il dure, & moins tremble en vieillesse,
Par Eage & temps jamais ne finissant.

—*P. F.*, p. 11.

COMPLAINCTE DE LA PERSONNE D'UN AMOUR AMY.

En trop aymant j'ay trop esté dame,
Et ce trop est, pour trop grande simplesse,
Jamais je n'euse en mon Esprit consenty,
Qu'elleust esté tant pleine de finesse
Je cuidois bien m'y conduire en seigneur,
Mais usé m'a d'une lasente ruse,
Si Seigneur n'est que la Femme m'abuse.

—*P. F.*, p. 31.

A MADEMOISELLE BRETHEVOUR.

Au clair Midy, je chemine en tenebres,
C'est ton regard qui m'obscurcist ainsy.
Tes doulx Sermons me sont Arrets funebres.
Je suis aupres de ton umbre transsy.
Je n'ay pouvoir de te crier mercy,
Perdant le sens, la veue & le langaige.
Contrainct je suis de juger par cecy
Qu 'as pres de toy quelque divin umbrage.

—*P. F.*, p. 22 *et seq.*

DU SIEGE D'AMOUR & QUE NE PEUT ESTRE SEPARÉ DU CUEUR.

L'Amour entier gist dedans non dehors,
Il gist dedans, doncques est invisible.

Au Cueur il est, enclos dedans le Corps,
De l'en oster est un cas impossible.
Le Corps qui est d'une douleur passible,
A dueil estant de l'Amy separé;
Mais le Cueur ou l'Amour est emparé,
Quoy que du Corps souvent se face absence,
Nen donne rien; car il est preparé
D'aymer derriere, aultant comme en presence.
— *P. F.*, p. 51.

Elegie.

du Tempé de France, en l'honneur de Madame, la Duchesse d'Estampes.

Jadis il fut un lieu en Thessalie,
Place estimée a merveilles iolye,
Cinq mille pas ayant en sa longueur,
Six mille aussi en patente largeur,
Champ delectant par plaisante verdure,
Champ produisant toute bonne pasture,
Champ, le vray lieu de toute amenité,
Là' y avoit grande diversité
De toutes flœurs & verdoyants bocaiges,
Ou lon oyoit les beaulx & doulx ramaiges
Des oisillonts, chantants souefvement.
Là, florissoyent touts Arbres noblement,
Si tresespests, qu'ilz sembloyent forests fortes,
Et produysoyent des fruicts de toutes sortes,
Amœnité leur umbraige rendoit,
Et de Phœbus tresestuant gardoit,
Gardoit de Vent, de Pluye et de Tempeste.
Là, n'y hantoit aulcune fere Beste,
Qui jour ou nuict, peust celuy dommaiger

Lequel y fust allé se soullaiger.
Il y avoit devers la main senestre
Des petits Monts, & aultant à la dextre,
Qui au beau lieu de deffense servoyent
Par leur circuit, duquel l'environnoyent.
Fortifié ainsi fut, par la cure,
Et le grand soing qu'y avoit mis Nature.
Par le millieu, pour la perfection
De tout soubhait & delectation,
Qui si tresbien y estoit ordonnée,
Alloit dormant le Cristallin Penée,
De tous costés de beaulx Arbres vestu,
Lesquels estoyent tousjours en leur Vertu.
Et ce lieu là, garny de toute aisance,
Et lieu remply d'incredible plaisance,
Lieu soubs un Air si tresbien attrempé,
Les Anciens ont appellé Tempé.
Plusieurs Auteurs, gents dignes de memoire,
Le descrivant, ont voulu faire croire
Qu'oncques ne fut dessoubs le firmament,
Lieu a celuy semblable aulcunement;
Et ont dit plus, tant que seroit durable
Ce monde cy, qu'il n'auroit son semblable.
Mais ilz n'avoyent assés bien calculé,
Leur Tempé est maintenant recullé,
Leur vieil Tempé au nouveau Tempé cedde,
Tempé, qui cil de Thessalie excedde,
Tempé, qui est remply de tout plaisir,
Que soubhaitter pourroit l'humain desir.
Ce beau Tempé, c'est le Tempé de France,
Avec plaisir, lieu de toute asseurance,
Auquel habitte un Cueur si tresloyal,

Qu'il est trouvé digne du Lys Royal.
Du vieil Tempé, toute la grand' tenue,
En certains pas fut jadis contenue:
Et le plaisir que là on pretendoit,
Tant seulement par termes s'estandoit.
Nostre Tempé, (chose miraculeuse)
Quoy que ne soit place tant spacieuse,
Il comprend plus toutefoy que celuy,
Que lon disoit n'avoir pareil a luy,
Le vieil Tempé estoit plain de flourettes,
Que produisoyent verdoyantes herbettes
En grand odeur, plain d'Arbres florissants,
Et d'iceulx fruicts de toute sorte yssants.
Ce nonobstant, quoy que soit chose heurée,
Elle n'est point d'immortelle durée,
L'herbe flatrit, & deseiche la floeur,
Et par le temps se perd souefve odeur.
Les Arbres verds perdent leurs verdes fouilles,
Perdent leurs fruicts, avecques leurs despouilles,
Et n'ont plaisir, que pour un certain temps.
Mais le Tempé, duquel parler j'entends,
N'a point ainsi plaisance definie,
Immortelle est la sienne, & infinie.
En ce Tempé Rhamnasie est entrée,
Que de l'habit de Faveur acoustrée
S'assied aupres d'une noble Deésse.
Qui d'yceluy est la possesseresse,
La fauorit, & la met en honneur,
Cognoissant bien, que merite tel heur.
Venus y est, laquelle y fait merveille,
Car luy donnant la beaulté nonpareille,
Nous esblouist à la veoir, comme l'œil

Est esblouy regardant le Soleil.
Son Cupidon n'est la dedans volage,
Ains en changeant de sa premiere image,
Il tient un traict, lequel tousjours il trempe
Dedans un Baing, que Chasteté attrempe,
En le trempant, immobile il le tient,
Par un arrest de Foy, qui le soubstient,
Et là se fait, par telle soubstentie,
Affection d'immortelle tenue.
D'ou un Amour croist immortel aussi,
Ò pléust a DIEU qu'il fust tousjours ainsi.
Juno y est, avecques sa Noblesse.
Laquelle espand de tous costés richesse,
En un estat de si bel appareil,
Qu'en tout le Monde en Règne n'a pareil.
D'aultre part est la prudente Minerve,
Qui s'y soullage avecques sa caterve,
Noble Pallas, datrice de tout bien,
Et, pour venir aux honneurs, le moyen.
Là sont aussi les troys belles Charites,
La recompense à tous loyaulx merites,
Faisant plaisir (pourveu quil soit cogneu)
Estre des Bons, tost ou tard, recogneu.
Là est Diane, avecques les Driades,
Là est Terpé, & les Nymphes Naiades.
Là Apollon, le puissant Dieu & Roy,
Est president, en triumphant arroy:
Accompaigné des plaisantes neuf Sœurs,
Qui chantent chants, pleins de toutes douceurs.
C'est un grand heur, veoir telle compaignie,
Se consoner en si doulce armonie.
Le temps passé, plusieurs gentils esprits

Ont pris plaisir, par leurs doctes escripts,
Commemorer le los tresmagnifique,
Et le grand bruict, du Tempé Thessalicque:
Tout ainsi font les Muses, en ce lieu,
Assises pres d'Apollon, leur grand Dieu.
Calliopé, la tant bien resonante,
A, à sa voix une voix consonante:
C'est son MAROT, le Poete scavant,
Lequel premier met la plume en avant.
Plume, de mots & sentences fertile,
Plume, à trouver, & à coucher subtile.
Clio apres, a son docte Colin,
Colin sonnant Grec, Francoys & Latin,
Et penetrant de l'erudite sonde,
La crœuse Mair de science profonde.
Puis Erato un SAINT GELAYS maintient,
Qui la patrie avec les aultres tient,
Chantant des sons de sa sonante Lyre.
Plaisants à tous, & utiles à lire.
Aupres duquel, un SCEVE s'est aszis,
Petit de corps, d'un grand esprit rassis,
Qui l'escoutant, mal gré qu'il en ayt, lie
Aux graves sons de sa doulce Thalie.
Avecques eulx, ya Melpoméné
La MAISON NEVFVE (esprit gentil) mené,
Qui tellement de sa harpe resonne,
Que n'est aulcun lequel ne s'en estonne.
Terpsicoré, a pres de soy BRODEAU,
Lequel tousjours invente chant nouveau,
Et de son chant il fait si grand merveille
Qu'il n'y a Cueur que soubdain ne reveille.
Là, Euterpé ne s'est mise en oubly,

Ains le troupeau a trestoien ennoblyr.
Par un BOUCHET, qui tant de beaulx dictz cueille
Tous procedantz de sa dorée bouche.
Et là au pres, HERBET le subtil,
Avecques luy, FONTAINES le gentil,
Deux, en leur sens une personne unie,
Chantantz aupres de l'haulte Polymnie.
Là, Vranie a son SALEL conduit,
Qui tous les jours ses factures produit,
Par juste droict accomodé a elle.
Vranie est, entre les Muses, celle
Qu'on dit Celeste & de divinité;
SALEL, escrit de telle dignité,
Et ses escripts si saigement compasse,
Qu'il nest auleun qui en ce, l'oultrepasse.
Oultre ceulx cy, d'aultres y sont venus,
Desquels les Noms encor ne sont cognus:
Qui quelque jour se feront apparoistre
Si haultement, qu'on les pourra cognoistre.
Droit au millieu, a un Parc de plaisir,
Lequel Honneur pour soy voulut saisir.
Tout à l'entour, les Vertus y consistent,
Qui vaillamment à tous vices resistent.
Force y est jointe à Magnanimité,
Tenant soubs soy Pusillanimité.
Prudence y est, qui au hault degré monte,
Et par Conseil, Temerité surmonte:
Avecques soy ayant, pour son pouvoir,
Doulceur modeste, & attrempe scauoir.
Là tient ses rencs celle qu'on dit Justice,
Qui des bienfaicts donne claire notice:
Qui donne aux bons remuneration,

Et aux maulvais deue punition:
Qui ne permet a aultruy faire injure,
Bref, qui fait tout par egale mesure.
Là, au dedans de ce parc, pres d'Honneur,
Qui est du bien aux merites donneur,
Est noblement une grand' Dame assise,
Belle, Prudente, honnorable, & rassise:
Ayant regard à merveilles humain,
Couronnée est, & tient sceptre en sa main,
Et ce Tempé regente sans nul blasme,
Duquel elle est la souveraine Dame.
Ò beau Tempé, lieu de felicité,
Comment sera ton plaisir recité?
Qui pourra dire, ou paindre en une table,
Tout haultain Bien, au mortel inscrutable?
Or venez tous maintenant vous Auteurs,
Du vieil Tempé jadis collodateurs,
Des deux Tempés si faictes conference,
Lequel sera qui aura preference?
Or sus, jugez, jugez en vostre endroit,
Si vous sondez le iugement en droict,
Nostre Tempé n'est il plus autentique,
Cent mille foibs, que le Tempé antique?
En ay je escript? pourtant ce n'est rien fait,
Car fusses je, moy seul, aultant perfaict,
Ou qu'ont esté tant d'aultres, si tressaiges,
Si eloquents, si facunds, en leurs Aiges,
Ou bien que sont ceulx la de maintenant,
Qui ont scavoir & Esprit, convenant
Pour bien trouver, bien parler, & bien dire,
Je ne pourrois dignement le descrire.
En y penseant, ne scay lequel des deux

Je doibs juger estre le plus heureux,
Ou le Tempé, d'une telle Regente,
Ou celle la, qui ce Tempé regente.
—*P. F.*, pp. 197 *et seq.*

ETIENNE DOLET.

A. S. MARTHE.

Je scay tresbien que Nature la sage,
Quant aux Auteurs Grecs, Hebrieux, & Romains,
A faict plusieurs excellents chefs d'ouvraige:
Comme est Vergile, Homere, & aultres maincts:
Mais celle mesme a mis entre tes mains
Ung style tel, touchant nostre parler,
(Parler Francoys, plaisant à touts humains)
Que iusqu'au Ciel on veoit ton los aller.
—*Livre de ses Amys.* *P. F.*, p. 232.

SCATTERED POEMS, FRENCH AND LATIN.

PLUSIEURS DIZAINS A CE PROPOS SAINTE-MARTHE.[1]

DE FOLLE AMOUR.

Pour folle amour, les suppostz de Venus
Ont des dangiers, à milliers & à cents,
Les uns en sont malheureux devenuz,
Autres en ont du tout perdu les sens.
Plusieurs autheurs, en terms concedens,
De ce ont d'escript exemples d'importance.
Gardons nous donc de la folle accointance,

[1] *Cf.* pp. 196, note 1, and 614.

Si ne voulons endurer grands alarmes.
Car à la fin soubz jeu de repentance,
Voyez amour distiller eau de larmes.
—*Le nouvel amour, inventé par le seigneur* Papillon, fol. 179 r°.

AUTRE.

Le fruict demeure, est dur, mol, sec & vert,
Legier, pesant, doux, amer, froid & chault,
Secret, commun, affable, descouvert,
Triste, joyeux, cler, obscur, bas, & hault.
L'un jour présent, lendemain en deffault,
Plein de rigueur, abrevé de mercy
Rude, amyable, en estat & soucy,
Sourse d'adverse & de bonne fortune.
Maigre, & refaict, gresle, gros, gay, transi,
Droict, & tortu, constant comme la Lune.
— *Ibid.*, fol. 179 r°.

AUTRE DIZAIN DE CUPIDO.

Cupido scait entrer (*sic*) jusques au bout,
Et se delecte en faict de jardinage
Et qui plus est, son ente prend son tout
Donc & produit divers fruictz & sauvage.
Tousjours travaille & poursuyt son hommage
Sur tous vergees, il obtient la regence.
Il n'est jamais notté de negligence,
Ne lascheté au moins qu'on le cognoisse.
Il est expert & plein de diligence,
Mais en tout arbre, ente poirier d'angoisse.
— *Ibid.*, fol. 179 v°.

CAROLIS MARTANI PHALEUCIUM AD DUCHERIUM

Virtus me tua, Ducheri diserte,
Eruditio summa, uita casta,
Felix ingenium, tuumque pectus
Syncerum impulit ipse ne uererer
Nunc te audenter adire, colloquiq'
Et totum tibi me dare. Hoc'ne factum
Impudensq', nouumq' quis putabit?
At me, si bene uertat ista contrà
Mihi audacia, plus nimis beatum:
Et sim, si mihi denegare nolis
In tuis numeris locum, beatus
Quod de te bene spero, postuloq',
Pro tui ingenij benignitate:
Si non sit tibi, Ducheri, molestum.

—*Gilberti Ducherii . . . Epigrammatum libri duo*, p. 160 *et seq.*

DE LA PAIX FAITE PAR LE ROI AVEC LES ANGLOIS

Le Roi Henri, prince vaillant et sage,
Aiant les forts de Bouloigne conquis,
A pour jamais, entre les preus, acquis
Titre et renom d'heroique courage.
Depuis, combien qu'il eust son equipage
Prest à marcher comme en guerre est requis,
A par accord le surplus reconquis,
Aiant du droit manifeste avantage.
Le premier acte est noble et glorieus:
Mais le second n'est moins victorieux:
Car moins n'aura la victoire gaignée,
Qui les siens sauve, et bonne paix acquiert:

Que qui par force ou defend ou conquiert,
Quand en son sang sa victoire est baignée.

— Printed with *Ode de la Paix, par Pierre de Ronsard, cit.* P. Laumonier, *Chronologie et variantes des poésies de Pierre de Ronsard, loc. cit.*, p. 436 *et seq.*

POEMS INCLUDED IN THE LATIN VERSION OF THE FUNERAL ORATION FOR THE QUEEN OF NAVARRE.

CAR. SANCTOMARTHANI, I. V. DOCT.
DIALOGUS,
MANES REGINÆ, VIATOR.

M. Cur fles? *V.* Margariden mors sustulit atra.
M. quid inde?
V. Gallia materiam nonne doloris habet?
Pupilli, adflicti, viduæ, senio que gravati,
Doctrina exculti, quique fuere viri,
Nobilitas & inops, illam sensere patronam:
Perfugio orbata est nunc ea turba suo.
M. Illam regali set quis de stirpe crearat?
Illi quis dederat regia sceptra? *V.* Deus.
M. Viua coruscauit magnis virtutibus: unde id?
V. Immensi credo dona fuisse Dei.
M. Quale habuit corpus? *V.* mortale. *M.* & quale futurum?
V. Res nihili: extremum puluis ad usque diem.
M. Spiritus & qualis? *V.* morti haud obnoxius ille est:
Nempe, immortalis quum sit imago Dei.
M. Ergo, quæ est hominis potior pars? *V.* spiritus.
M. Et quæ
Virtutum est sedes? *V.* Spiritus ille. *M.* Sat est.

Hæc ita quum constent, simul ipse fatebere, corpus
Instrumentum hominis : non tamen esse hominem.
V. Id fateor. *M.* Faber instrumentum perdidit, artem
Perditit? atque faber desiit esse? *V.* minus.
M. Vnde igitur posthac extincto corpore, dices
Extinctum esse hominem? *V.* sic Epicurus ait.
M. Insanit. *V.* verum est. *M.* quare, tu comprime fletum :
Quando vides, quòd non mortua Margaris est
Nonne creaturam potuit reuocare Creator?
Id, cur, qui contra non potes ire, doles?
Quod mortale fuit, Mors tollere debuit ipsa :
Aut erat æterno Mors caritura bono.
V. Corpus abest, Cœlum conscendit spiritus. *M.* id tu
Margariden vobis eripuisse putas?
Scripta volant, benefacta manent, & gloria vivit :
Talia qui hinc abiens dona relinquit, abest?
V. Atqui Margaridi quaero persolvere iusta.
M. Margaridis mores ergo imitere pios.
Nam, non defunctos, qui flet, qui luget, honorat.
Set qui virtutes quas coluere colit.

— *In obitum . . . Margaritæ . . . Oratio funebris* etc., p. 142 *et seq.*

ALIUD.

Abstulit hora unam, quam non perfecerat hora.
Maius opus fuerit, si dabit hora parem.

— *Ibid.*, p. 144.

ALIUD.

Quid tu Margaridem defles, quasi mortua nunc sit?
Ast ne tu id dicas : non obiit, abiit.

— *Ibid.*, p. 144.

ALIUD.

À curis quibus hic grauamur omnes,
Margaris modo liberata, dormit,
Iam non somnia, dormiens, set ipsum
Spiritu intuitur beata verum.
Vera gaudia, gloriamque veram,
Et quae vera Epicurus abnegat, nunc
Vinclis corporeis soluta, cernit.
Hæc te scire volo, Viator, ut tu
Sinas Margariden quiescere, ac iam
Quo negocia te vocant, abito.

— *In obitum . . . Margaritæ . . . Oratio funebris*, etc., p. 144 *et seq.*

ALIUD.[1]

Margaridi vocem morbus præcluserat: ullum
Nec verbum emisit, tres moribunda dies.
Proxima sed morti, ter conclamauit Jesus:
Deinde Animam summo reddidit ipsa Joui
Tres Charites flerunt: ter tres fleuêre Sorores:
Ingemuit mundi pars, doluitque triplex,
Nempe ostendebat (quo non perfectior ullus
Est numerus) perfectam occubuisse Trias.

— *Ibid.*, p. 145.

[1] Reprinted, *Tombeau de Marguerite*, p. 170. F. Génin translated this poem into French, quoting it from Scévole de Sainte-Marthe's *Elogia*. *Lettres de Marguerite . . . de Navarre*, p. 146.

POEMS INCLUDED IN THE FRENCH VERSION OF THE FUNERAL ORATION FOR THE QUEEN OF NAVARRE.

A Treshaultes, et Tresillustres Princesses Madames Marguerite de France, Soeur Unique Du Roy: Et Jehanne, Princesse De Navarre, Duchesse de Vendosmois.

S'il est ainsi, qu'à celui, qui apporte
Triste nouvelle, on doibt fermer la porte,
Et que celui, qui un ennui passé
Veult rafraichir, merite estre chassé
Autant et plus que qui premier l'adnunce:
Contre mon faict sentence je prononce,
Et me confesse indigne, ou d'estre veu,
Ou que de vous mon triste escript soit leu,
O rare pair de perfaictes princesses.
Car celui suis, qui l'une des tristesses,
Qui oncques plus ennuierent vos coeurs,
Par mes escripts, messagiers de douleurs,
Par mes escripts, paincts de couleurs funebres,
Par mes escripts, composés aux tenebres,
D'ennui mortel, vous vien renouveller.
Mais vous supply, que vous oiés parler
Au lieu de moy, Debvoir, qui m'a fait faire
Ce que mon cœur n'a né peu, né deu, taire.
Car j'estois tant à la Dame tenu,
Par qui nous est ce grand deuil advenu:
Que des ingrats serois l'ingratissime,
Si je faisoys un si petit estime
De ses bienfaicts: que de mettre en oubli
Ce cœur royal qui m'avoit ennobli

De sa faveur: en tenant un grand compte
De mes escripts, que moimesmes, sans honte,
Ne pouvois lire, et louant mon esprit,
Autant rustic, qu'est lourdant mon escript.
O moy heureus (si heureus en ce monde
L'homme peut estre) aiant, de la facunde,
De l'elegante & docte, entre tous ceuls,
Qui ont laissé quelque memoire d'euls,
Heu jugement à mon grant avantaige,
Qui m'a rendu maintefois le courage.
Et maintenant n'ay je bonne raison
De tesmoigner par funebre oraison,
Que la servir morte, n'ay moindre envie
Que quand estoit avecques nous en vie?
L'on me dira que j'ay trop entrepris:
Mais j'aime mieux estre en cela repris,
Qu'avoir failli faire à tous apparoistre
Qu'ingratitude en mon cœur ne peut croistre,
Car plus louable est qui trop entreprend,
En noble faict, que vertu ne reprend,
Que celuy là, qui de paour de mesprendre,
Acte d'honneur n'ausa onc entreprendre.
Mais ainsi soit, que me puisse excuser,
D'avoir ausé, ce qu'on peut accuser;
Encore fault il que face mon excuse,
Envers vous deus: car mon Acte m'accuse.
Je vous presente, et quoy? oeuvre immortel?
Ouy vraiment: car le subject est tel.
Et si la plume est autant immortelle
Que son subject, onques n'en fut de telle.
Est-ce une histoire? ô que point on ne veist
Chose moins vraye! Et que l'on poursuivist

En suivant la verité d'histoire,
Comme la mienne à la France est notoire.
Je vous fay donc, mes dames, un present
Qui vous sera joieus & desplaisant,
Joieus, pour estre issues de la ligne
De celle la, qui se trouve tant digne
De tout honneur, que pour bien la chanter
Il nous fauldroit son esprit emprunter.
Mais quand ce vient, que ses vertus narrés,
D'un triste deuil se trouvent reparees.
Je dy, que tous ceste mort despittons
Qui a ravi celle que nous regrettons:
Lors mon present tant de tristesse amasse
Que le grand dueil tout mon plaisir surpasse.
Car vous, Madame, à qui un remords vient,
Quand du grand tort de la Mort vous souvient,
Ne pouvés estre en vostre cœur contente,
De n'havoir plus en ce monde de tante,
Et cest amour que d'elle vous sentiés,
Qu'à elle aussi reciproque portiés,
Ne peut souffrir que, cent fois la journée,
Vous ne soyés à y penser donnée.
Et quand oyés Marguerite appeller,
Vous oyés bien vostre nom parler:
Mais ce nom la transit vostre triste ame,
Du souvenir de la tant bonne dame
Et lorsque ainsi en esprit la veoiés,
Difficile est que vous ne larmoiés.
Et vous, Madame, à qui la mort cruelle,
Feist adnuncer la funebre nouvelle,
Que vostre mère ainsi perdue aviés,
En qui support de Mère vous trouviés:

Si nous disons qu'elle soit departie
D'avecques vous, sans mortelle angustie,
Nous dirons donc, que c'est soulagement,
D'avoir perdu tout son contentement.
Or fault il bien, que ce soit dur et tetrique
Voire et nourri de la Lionne lybique
Qui en perdant celle, qui l'a porté,
Ne soit au cœur triste et desconforté,
Et mesmement, si (comme vous Madame)
Venoit a perdre une déesse femme.
Femme, laquelle au monde converseoit,
Mais qui, d'esprit, femme n'apparaissoit,
O doncques vous, mes dames: vous, niepce,
Et vous, sa fille, ou prendrés vous liesse
En l'oraison, dont les tristes propos
Font souvenir du grand tort qu'Atropos
A fait à vous & à toute la France?
Cela pouvoit m'oster toute espérance
De recevoir quelque gré de vous deus:
Sans que Vertu (qui du thrésor des cieuls
Est dans vos cœurs abondamment infuse)
M'eust enhardi vouz envoyer ma muse,
Me promettant, que ne seray deceu
De mon attente, & que sera receu
Le mirouer des Roynes sans reprouche
De celles deus, a qui plus pres il touche.
A qui, le los à la Tante donné,
Qu'à la Niepce, est de droit ordonné?
A qui l'honneur, qui en la Mere abonde,
Plus justement qu'à la fille redonde?
Ce mirouer à la Tante est donc,
Qui suit sa Tante, et n'en forvoya onc.

Et à la fille à bon droict se dedie,
Qui aux vertus de sa mere estudie,
Prenant exemple à l'exemple parfaict
Que Dieu avoit pour exemplaire fait.
Mirés vous donc (Niepce vertueuse)
Au mirouer de vostre Tante heureuse.
Et vous (sa fille) en qui nous attendons
Le fruict sortir des floeurs qu'y regardons,
Mirés vous y : et donnés à entendre,
Que n'avés fait la France en vain attendre.
Quand toutes deus icy vous mirerez,
Vostre pourtraict au vif trouverés :
Car y verrés Vertu estre louée,
Dont de vous deus chascune est bien douée,
Et y lirés (vous niepce) qu'ainsi
Que de maison, de nom, d'armes, icy
Pour vostre Tante avés esté laisee,
Du tout aussi devés la trespassée
Representer. Vous (fille) qui devés
Du tout respondre au nom que vous haves,
Pour faire en vous vostre Mere renaistre,
Chascun dit bien qu'aultrement ne peut estre,
Aussi vray est, ce que le commun bruit,
Que l'arbre bon nous apporte bon fruit.

De Paris, le XVII d'Apvril 1550

Par

Vostre tres humble & tres obeissant serviteur
Charles de Saincte-Marthe.

— *Or. fun. . . . de Marguerite . . . de Navarre*, etc. ed. 1550, fol. Aij v° *et seq.*

C. D. S. M.

Pour nous donner visible cognoissance
Combien fait Dieu aux Eleus d'advantage,
Et tesmoigner sa grande providence,
Laissa icy Marguerite pour gaige.
Mais en veoiant nostre orgueilleus couraige,
Mettre en oubly sa tant grande bonté,
Au monde ingrat, son don il a osté.
Or maintenant sent nostre demerite,
Et que valloit ce qu'il avoit presté,
Et quel proffit portoit la Marguerite.

— *Or. fun. . . . de Marguerite . . . de Navarre*, etc., ed. 1550, p. 137.

AULTRE.

La Mort voulut la Royne de Navarre,
Estant malade au monde, espoventer.
Mais cognoissant l'heur qu'elle nous prepare,
Ne cessoit point la main luy presenter.
Un jour, la Mort, en voulant la tenter,
S'adventura la toucher en passant.
La Royne adonc l'arresta, ravissant
Celle, de qui devoit estre ravie.
Allons allons (dist elle en l'embrassant)
Allons à Dieu: ô Mort source de Vie.

— *Ibid.*

AULTRE.

La mort veoiant l'Esprit de Marguerite,
Illuminé d'une divinite,
Au monde avoir mainte bonne œuvre escripte,
Qui luy avoit acquis eternite.

Pour effacer son immortalite,
A prins le corps, qui estoit instrument
De cest Esprit: mais l'Esprit, promptement
S'est emparé de l'immortelle gloire.
O noble envie, ô heureus changement,
Ou le vaincu du vainqueur ha victoire.

—*Or. fun. . . . de Marguerite . . . de Navarre*, etc., ed. 1550, p. 132 [138].

PROSOPOPEE DE LA TERRE.

Que me veuls tu par tes pleurs faire rendre?
De ce qui fut Marguerite n'hay rien,
Ce qui couvroit Marguerite, hay je bien:
Je dy son corps que je redui en cendre.
Quant à l'Esprit, qu'il fault choisir & prendre
Pour Marguerite: à moy ne retourneoit,
Ains est monté au ciel, d'ou il venoit.
Avecques Dieu il te convient le querre.
Car tout mortel, à la Mort rendre doibt,
L'Esprit au Ciel, & le corps à la terre.

—*Ibid.*

AULTRE, TOURNÉ DU LATIN.

Une heure nous a osté celle,
Qu'une heure perfaicte n'avoit.
O l'œuvre grand, si une telle
Une heure rendre nous pouvoit.

—*Fin des Epitaphes*, *Ibid.*

A Damoiselle Renee Lavdier, d'Alencon, Sonnet.

Dieu ne vous feist né Royne, né Duchesse,
Pour vous mirer au mirouer luisant
De Marguerite: ausi n'est il duisant
Qu'au Roy, au Duc, au Prince, à la Princesse.
Mais si fault il, que le petit se dresse
Comme les grands, de vertu soit usant,
Et que luy soit le vice desplaisant,
Comme il doibt estre à la haultre noblesse.
Icy dedans, ô ma compaigne & Sœur,
Mirés vous donc, & ne mettés le cœur,
Qu'aux faicts, ou plus vostre estat s'accommode.
A ce, qui est de Prince, n'entendrés,
Fors à vertu: & lors ne mesprendrés,
Car Vertu est à toutes gents commõde.
—*Fin des Epitaphes, Ibid.*, p. [139].

POEMS INCLUDED IN THE "HECATODISTICHON" OF THE THREE SISTERS SEYMOUR.

Caroli Sanctomarthani Iur. Vtr. Doct. Ad Gallos.

Virtutem Tyrius manere nunquam
Illaudatam ait: atque veritatem
Nullo posse silentio tegi, nec
Quavis invidia obrui opprimique
Christus adseruit. Quod esse utrunque
Verum, tres hodie Anglicæ sorores,
Quæ sunt sanguine Regio creatæ,
Elegantibus ac pereruditis
Distichis, tibi, Galle, comprobarunt.
Set, quod virginibus datur peritis
Laudi, iudicio omnium bonorum,

Vertitur vitio id tibi, perennes
Ingratique animi notas inurit.
Nam, quod iure suo petabat abs te
Nomen Margaridis, quod & beatis
Te eius soluere Manibus decebat,
Ingratus retines, taces, premisque.
Jam sextus propè mensis est, tibi ex quo
Sæva Margaridem abstulere fata :
Decus, Galle, tuum, tuumque lumen.
Illam Margaridem, cui profecto
Parem sæcula prisca non tulere,
Parem tempora nostra non habent, nec
Parem longa hominum videbit ætas.
At, cum corpore nomen est sepultum :
Gallus nec fuit unus, inter omnes
Tota Gallia quos fovet Poetas,
Divæ Margaridi suos honores
Qui extinctæ sua solueritque iusta.
Illam laudibus ad Deos vehebant,
Mirabantur, & omnibus colebant
Modis, quandiu erat superstes : at nunc
Nulla est mentio mortuæ. Macrinus,
Atque Borbonius, duo celebres
Nostræ lumina Galliæ Poetæ ;
Dormiuntque, silentque ; nec minus sunt
Sangelasius, Heroetiusque,
Et Salælius ipse, Bugiusque,
In quibus nihil eruditionis
Ingenique nihil potest requiri,
Omnes muti hodie : recensque scriptor,
Ronsardus, celebrat suos amores,
Heroasque vehit suos ad astra,

Ausus Pindarico sonare versu:
Ronsardus meus ille, quem Minerva
Sacravit sibi: cui suada Pitho,
Dextro Mercurio irrigavit ora,
Qui (nolit velit invidus), poetas
Inter, conspicuus locum tenebit:
Musas qui usqueadeò sacras amavit,
Musæ quem usqueadeò sacratæ amarunt,
Illi ut carmina Gallicè canent;
Non Gallæ modo, set simul Latinæ,
Atticæque simul lyram ministrent.
Ipse at Margaridem tacet, nec ullos
Defunctæ tribuit poeta honores.
Bellaius quoque, qui Italo Petrarchæ
Artem sustulit atque dignitatem:
Pellitarius eloquensque, Græcum
Gallicè faciens tonare Homerum:
Et Chappusius omnibus probatus:
Habertusque suaviter canens: ij
Satis certè equidem, satisque multa
Scribunt: Margaridem interim silent, nec
Mortuam adficiunt honore. Virtus
Ast id ferre nequit: nequitque ferre
Veritas sacra. Fit proinde, vt illam,
Cuius Gallia gloriam tacebat,
Exteræ celebrent canantque Gentes:
Gentes toto equidem orbe separatæ.
Nec Sophi modò, nec modo eruditi
Vates, Historicique: set sorores,
Set puellæ etiam, set & puellæ
(Talia in quibus est nonum videre)
Principes. Quid ais? pudore magno

Non perfunderis, ô Poeta Galle?
Cuius officium facit puella,
Quando tu officium facis puellæ?
— *Annæ, Margaritæ, Jonæ, Sororum, . . . In mortem Margaritæ . . . Hecatodistichon*, p. 135 *et* 136.

MARGARITÆ REG. NAV.
TUMULUS PER C. S.

Quando sæuit hyems, virore grato,
Et fructu, foliisque, floribusque
Nudatur, quasi mortua, arbor: at se,
Respirante Favonio suavi,
Monstrat vivere; tuncque gratiorem
Et vestem & faciem induit. Cruenta
Sic quem tempore Mors ferit statuto,
In fœdo exanimis iacet sepulchro
Tanquam mortuus. Ast ubi illa summa
Nos ad iudicium dies vocabit,
Viuet, nam melius profecto viva
Surgent corpora, quæ interim quiescunt.
Ergo Margaridem quid ipse luges
Tanquam mortua sit? caveto, fallax
Ne te errore Epicurus implicet, nam
Qui surget, moritur peritque nunquam.
— *Ibid.*, p. 142.

SPIRITUS REGINÆ.
AD VIATOREM C. S.

Clausus carcere corporis, dolores
Multos sustinui gravesque languens.
Solutus modò morte, vivo liber:
Nempe, id vivere, quo carere mors est.
— *Ibid.*, p. 144.

EIVSDEM. C. S.

AD GALLOS.

CUR TAM PAUCI POETAE GALLI, REGINAM NAUARRÆ LAUDENT.

Mors ubi Margaridem mundo fera sustulit isto,
Sic affata sacrum diva Minerva chorum:
Mortua Margaris est, ô vos Heliconis alumnæ,
Carminibus natæ reddite justa meæ.
Te tamen ô Erato excipio, Cythereia vates:
Esse tuæ iubeo mutaque plectra lyræ.
Nam mihi, non Veneri, fuerat Regina sacrata:
Non est lascivis ergo canenda modis.
Vix eo finierat, subitò quum clausa poetis
Ora fuere, suos quos Erycina tenet.
Iam quid, Margaridem taceat si Gallia, mirum?
Octo nempe aliô nunc abiere Deæ.

Annæ, Margaritæ, Janae Sororum, . . . In mortem Margaritæ . . . Hecatodistichon.

PRO GALLIS POETIS.

RESPONSIO PER EUNDEM.

Qvis quæso, Vraniam negat, supremum
Inter Thespiades locum tenere?
Quis, cœlestia quum canit, negabit
Quotquot sunt, reliquas tacere Musas?
Dices, sydere quamlibet corusco,
Phœbo te dare posse claritatem?
Plumbum ignobile, nobili Smaragdo
Adferet decus, atque dignitatem?
Atqui, Margaridem, cui poëta
Nostro tempore nemo conferendus:

Illam Margaridem, perennitati
Quæ sese calamo suo sacravit:
Illam Margaridem, beata cuius
Virtus longè hominum est honore maior:
Nos vis carmine prædicare nostro.
Is certè, Uraniæ obstrepet canenti,
Solem accendere stellulis minutis
Nitetur, decus & volet Smaragdo
Plumbea dare vilitate, quisquis
Sese Margaridem suo putabit
Versu, reddere posse clariorem.

—*Annæ, Margaritæ, Janae, Sororum, . . . In mortem Margaritæ . . . Hecatodistichon*, p. 145.

DEDICATIONS, PREFACES, ETC.

DEDICATION OF THE "POESIE FRANCOISE."

EPISTRE À TRESILLUSTRE ET TRESNOBLE PRINCESSE MADAME LA DUCHESSE D'ESTAMPES, & CONTESSE DE POINCTIEVRE. CHARLES DE SAINCTE MARTHE SON TRESOBEISSANT, RENDT HUMBLE SALUT.

A l'imitation de l'Archer, qui son Arc desbende pour à meilleur exercice le reserver, souloit communement Socrates de sa roidde & severe Philosophie à jeux pueriles se descendre. Cecy ne dy je, Princesse tres-illustre, pour me voulant ascrire plus hault estude deprimer l'exercise de la mienne Langue vulgaire, veque plusieurs de trop plus celebre Nom que le mien s'y sont esbattu: & mesmement que, selon ma vacation ne puis pour le present, plus louable sacrifice à ma Nation, que d'illustrer sa Langue selon mon rude Esprit. Mais tends à cette fin, que la haultesse de

ton humilité, se daigne quelque foy de plus grande occupation lassée à si bas passetemps se demettre. Lequel facilement je dirois avoir temerairement soubs l'excuse de ton sacre Nom mis en lumiere, si je ne scavoys l'affection tienne envers les Lettres & les Lettrés, excuser plus grande faulte, que ne pourroit pecher l'ignorance de la mienne envers toy bonne intention. Et plus pour cette seule occasion, que pour vouloir par mon vain escrire adjouster clarté à la lumiere de tes vertus, ay bien osé abuser de la debonnaireté de ta noble nature, qui entre toutes les Princesses que je cognois, ne m'es veue la derniere à se delecter à toutes vertueuses exercitations tant humbles et indignes de gravité soient elles. Et mesmement qu'aulcune foy: apres longue frequentation des fructueux & bien cultivés Vergiers, l'asperité & solitude des boys nous agrée tant nous est la Nature par sa diverse varieté non moins belle qu'amyable. Parquoy apres estre jà asses acoustumée en l'armonieuse melodie des haultes Lyres, desquelles celle Court treschretienne tresheureusement aujourdhuy, plus que nulle aultre, abonde, te pourras delecter en cet mienne vaine et jeune fatigue, laquelle, non aultrement, que apres longue & griefve tempeste, le palle & travaillé Nocher descouvrant de loing la Terre, à laquelle avec tout estude il s'efforce de se saulver, recueille le mieulx qu'il peut tous les fragments de sa navire rompue, j'ay amascée pour à ton Port tresdesiré la diriger. Auquel si aggreablement elle se veoit quelque foy pervenue, te pourra mettre [hors?] plus haulte, non toute foy sienne, invention, qui est partie de la traduction de ce Buccoliquain Theocrite, elegante imitation de nostre grand Poete.

En laquelle plus spatieusement te pourras esbattre pour la diverse copiosité des matieres aultant elegamment deduittes, que ingenieusement bien trouvées. Et là (vueille Dieu) puisse valoir le mien envers toy affectionné vouloir, puisque la mienne sotte translation ne t'y pourra (j'en suis seur) si plaisamment plaire, que l'œuvre de soy le merite. Tu doncques une entre nostre siecle des belles treserudite, des erudites tres belle, & (ce que j'ay en toy plus reveré) de ancienne prudence, de meur jugement, de treshumaines & treornés coustumes divinement bien douée, recepvras benignement les tables de mon naufrage par divers cass de la Fortune conduitte[s]. Finablement en petits faiz reduittes, & maintenant en ce tien Havre, ou de long temps les Muses commodement se retirent, asseurément arrivées, imploreront perpetuelle prosperité & à moy humble pardon de ta trop plus qu'humaine ingenuité, de ma trop grande temerité, peult estre offencée. Faisant fin, je supply le Seigneur auteur & createur de toutes choses, & d'icelles par sa grande Providence gubernateur & conducteur, te donner tresillustre Princesse, avec sa Grace, vie, en prosperité & santé, tréslongue.

De Lyon, ce premier jour de Septembre. Mil cinq cens, XL.

— *P. F.*, pp. 3-6.

DEDICATION OF THE "LIVRE DE SES AMYS"

A Monsieur le Secretain D'avenson, Charles de Saincte Marthe, Salut.

J'ay, à l'instigation de quelques uns mes bienvoulans mis en lumiere ma Poésie Francoyse (Seigneur tres-

aymé) plus pour esbattement, & relaxation de mon Esprit, que profession d'icelle Art. Parquoy si je n'y suis tant perfaict que ceulx, qui y sont consommés: comme Marot, S. Gelays, Seve, la Maison neufve, Chappuy, Fontaines, & aultres Poetes Francoys, divins & treserudits, plusieurs raisons ay je, lesquelles m'excusent, & toy mesme en scays vne partie. Or il a pleu à daulcuns de mes Amys me faire l'honneur & le bien, de me rendre, par leur escripts tresdoctes, testification de notre Amytié: cela j'estime, ainsi qu'on doibt estimer toute chose venante du sien Amy, & daultant que je n'ay rien plus cher que leurs Epigrames & Epistres, par moy colligées en ce Livre: d'aultant ma il semblé bon le te donner: comme a celuy, lequel au besoing (ou l'Amytie s'explique) s'est monstré par effect mon Amy. Il te plairà donq', attendant aultre Oeuvre de moy, le prendre en gré: me tenant tousjours pour l'un de ceulx, qui sont tes obeissants. Jesus soit avec toy. De Lyon ce XV. d'Aoust. M.D.X.L.

—*P. F.*, p. 226.

LES ELEGIES.

AU LECTEUR SALUT.

Nous te guardons (Lecteur candide) un Livre d'Elegies, lequel voulons mettre en avant, a part, tant pour la diversité, que pour la gravité des matieres lesquelles y sont comprises. Ce pendant te plaira lire, & prendre en gré, celles que t'avons volu advancer, comme Arres de plus grand' somme: laquelle te payerons, quand nous auras donné à cognoistre, le passetemps de nostre labeur t'avoir pleu. Dieu soyt avec toy.

—*P. F.*, p. 197.

DEDICATION OF THE PARAPHRASE OF THE SEVENTH PSALM.

CAROLUS SMARTHANUS JOANNI GALBERTO, GRATIANOPOLI ALLOBROGUM, REGIO SENATORI, MODIS OMNIBUS ABSOLUTO. S. D.

p. 3 Multum atque diu dubitatum est, Galberte doctissime, vtri magis sapiant, ij ne, qui seculi huius negocijs sese implicant & inuoluunt, ac vitam agunt, quam vocamus actiuam : an ij, qui mundo se subduxerunt, &, postpositis curis ac negocijs omnibus, in solitudinem secesserunt, sequunturque vitam, quam contemplatiuam adpellamus. Quibus prior magis adridet, dicunt certè quod verum est, nempè, non nobis solum ipsis natos esse nos, set patriæ, set parentibus, set amicis, set communi quoque Reipublicæ : ac proinde, cum sibi solis tantum videantur seruire, qui se ab hominum societate disiungunt, laudabiliorem esse vitam

p. 4 quæ vulgo actiua dicitur. Contrà, qui turbas, tumultum, rixas, atque adeo curas omnes fastidiunt, feliciter cum eis agi putant, qui sese submouerunt ab omni turba, et ab omni prorsus hominum contubernio excluserunt : ac tranquillam soli & quietam vitam ducunt. Illorum ego opinioni repugnare, Galberte, non possum : nimirum propterea quòd recte mihi & verè sentire videntur. Horum vero iudicium ac sententiam damnare non debeo : cum literarum monumentis proditum sit, Philosophos, Poetas, & qui animum adscribendum suum adiunxerunt, imo Theologos etiam ipsos, & summos & claros, forenses strepitus fugisse, et se in solitudinem recepisse. His accedit, quod quemadmodum stolonibus amputatis, omnia celerius adolescunt in arbore, nimirum alimentis in vnam collatis stirpem

ita superuacaneis negocijs leuatus animus, ac curis planè omnibus liber, plus efficit in studijs honestis: tota vi mentis in idem intenta. Quare si quid sua contemplatione publico bono adferant vtilitatis, non segniter ac ociosè prorsus viuant, probabile puto
p. 5 esse illorum institutum, dicam etiam hoc nostro seculo beatissimum. Nam si alias unquàm laboriosum & difficilè fuit in mundo & inter homines conuersari, est hodie quidem et laboriosissimum & periculosissimum. Vbique siquidem & vndique odia, lites, inuidiæ, æmulationes, detractiones, calumniæ, delationes, & infinitæ pestes: quas, quo quis magis euitare tentabit, hoc magis sentiet. Si quis sat agat in suis negocijs, & studeat rem familiarem parsimonia constabilire, audiet sibi sordidissimi auari nomen imponi. Si vero liberalitate ac munificentia vtatur erga omnes, & beneficijs gratuitis illos inuitet & alliciat, prodigalitatis statim reus erit. Qui se sentiet carnis rebellionem non posse comprimere, & continentiæ donum à Deo non habens, vxorem ducet, luxuriosus clamabitur. Sit, qui ferocientem carnem possit continentiæ freno reprimere ac retinere, & caste viuat, ac ad castitatem alios inuitet: spurci scortatores & adulteri, qui aliena ingenia ex
p. 6 suo metiuntur, mox Pædiconem esse illum impudenter dicent. Deum qui religiosè timebit, colet, venerabitur, ridebitur is vt superstitiosus. Qui motus animi reprimet, ac fructificabit pijs et bonis operibus, quæ Fidem suam viuam esse restentur, hypocrita carnalium iudicio erit. Si quis excellenti vir ingenio, & varia doctrina excultus, nihil lucubrationum suarum in apertum mittat, audiet sibi obijci, Scire tuum nihil est, nisi te scire hoc sciat alter. Quod si quid proferat in

lucem nisi satellitio muniat, garrulum & audaculum aliquem habebit Momum, qui in copiosa oratione, quæ multis exuberet virtutibus, de pauculis voculis temerè elapsis cauillabiter. Nisi quis dicendo scribendo,ue, de Deo disputet, ac frequentem faciat eius mentionem, impietatis suspitionem non effugiet. Loquatur itaque de Deo, de Christo Jesu, de gratia Spiritus sancti, & loquantur vt loqui par est, Haereseos accersetur. Damnet abusus aliquis, quos multos (proh dolor) & nimis multos quorundam auaritiam inexplebilem in Ecclesiam
p. 7 inuexisse, sumno Christianæ reipublicæ damno, fateri cogimur, Lutheranus erit. Contrà, si Romani Pontificis, & reliquorum Ecclesiæ ministrorum autoritatem sartam tectam esse debere adfirmet : ac interim adprobet probabiles aliquot ceremonias, quibus cupiditas humana tanquàm cancellis septa est, Papista ignominiosè vocabitur. Euangelicam vitam profiteri, est sanè felicissimam & sanctissimam vitam profiteri: set Christianè interim non viuere, quid aliud quæso est quàm Christum mentiri. — Multi sunt hodie huius generis euangelici viri, qui nihil aliud habent in ore quam Euangelion: set in quorum pectore, viuidus ille & perfectus Euangelicæ charitatis viguor non perseuerat. Doctrinam quid iuuat habere syncerissimam, si caligat malis adfectibus — si vita mundanis cupiditatibus sit prorsus offuscata ? Set sunt amore laudis, cupiditate pecuniarum, studio voluptatum omnium, libidine vindictæ, infamiæ, damnorum & mortis metu, vsqueadeò infatuati, vt non solum insulsam multitudinem condire non possint, verumetiam
p. 8 vt, et ipsi, et Euangelica pietas, in extremum hominum contemptum veniat, quia id non præ-

tant quod docent. Hos si christianè cohorteris, vt libertatem Euangelicam (veram Spiritus libertatem) non commutent in libertatem carnis, set vt doctrinæ pietatem, cum morum pietate coniungant: ac fortè acrius cohortationibus non acquiescentes obiurgaris, mox tibi Atheismi notam inurent. Quid pluribus? Nulla sollicitudine sic nos ad circumspectionem ac diligentiam acuere possumus, vt & nobis ipsis, & alijs, faciamus satis. Infestant certè hæc mala cuiusuis conditionis homines: set maximè bonos omnes & doctos. Bonum enim virum & res egregias adgredientem, premit inuidia: doctum, eloquentem ac disertum, ignorantia. Nam vt Panthera bene olet, set non nisi bestijs quas ad se trahit, hominibus non ita:[1] sic spurcæ literæ, quæ bene natis ingenijs graues sunt, stupidis istis & bardis gratiores sunt quouis aromate: ac proinde disertos quibus nauseam mouent, modis omnibus insectantur. Quod vt liberius ac securius facere possint, nimirum eos perdere
p. 9 in quorum exitium toti ardent, impiæ crudelitati pietatis speciem prætexunt: dicuntque, persequi se illos, non odio, non inuidia (si dis placet) set zelo Fidei, nimirum quod Lutherani sunt. Bonos à malis diuexari, doctos ab indoctis, pios ab impijs, non est certè nec mirum nec nouum. Vt enim Fraxinum campestrem in tantum horrent serpentes, vt nec matutinas nec vespertinas illius umbras vnquam attinguant, set si gyro frondibus huius arboris claudatur ignis & serpens, citius in ignem fugiet quam in Fraxinum:[2] Ita vitijs & virtutibus, bonis & malis, doctis & indoctis, pijs & impijs nihil conuenit. Euangelion

[1] The natural history is Pliny's. *Cf. Hist. Nat.* viii; 23.
[2] Pliny is authority for this. *Ibid.*, xvi; 24.

habent carnales inuisum, vt doctrinam studijs ipsorum aduersantem: proinde si conantur id eliminare nihil quidem mirum est. Nam est illud ipsis quod Rhododendri frondes iumentis, capris et ouibus: nempè venenum, quæ tamen homini remedio sunt contra serpentium venena.[1] Sic quod pij vertunt in suum bonum
p. 10 (hoc est Euangelion) stultis et reprobis ipsis, perniciem adfert. Set quanquam vel hoc nomine excusabiles sunt quod cæci sunt: tamen quemadmodum vinum dilucius magis prouocat vomitum, quam vel aqua simplex, vel vinum merum: Sic est intolerabilior nequitia, pietatis simulatione condita, quam simplex et aperta malicia. Non est hic Galberte, dicendi locus quam ego duriter Gratianopoli tractatus fuerim menses propè triginta, cum vinctus essem in carcere: set inhumanitatem quam sensi, non tam Senatui amplissimo, quam maliciæ aduersarij mei imputare debeo: qui vt vindictam suam meo sanguine expleret, & suo iure me persequi videretur, Lutheranæ me factionis reum fecit: hoc magis impius, quod pietatem mentiretur. Set quid effecit tandem nisi quod diu me detinuit in carcere? at qui fuit mihi cum non paucis & principibus & summis viris carcer communis, imo cum Christo etiam ipso. Nudauit me rebus meis omnibus, quidquid tamen abstulit non mihi set fortunæ
p. 11 (cuius erat quod habebam) abstulit. Dominus dederat, Dominus passus est tolli: potest idem et meliora et multo plura reddere. Fœdauit fortè me infamia: tentauit id quidem, set perficere non potuit. Vt enim Adianton herbam, etiam si perfundas aqua,

[1] From Pliny. *Cf. supra*, p. 546.

aut immergas, tamen siccæ semper est similis:[1] Ita in virum bonum non hæret contumelia, non infamia, quantumuis infamare quis conetur ipsum. Set curauit proscribendum. Quid tum? forte me putauit similem Formicæ aut Api quæ si semel antro & alueario eijciantur, peregrinantur.[2] Atqui non minus in quouis loco tranquille viuit vir fortis & bonus, quàm potest nauis, cui firma est ancora, in quouis portu conquiescere. Porrò vituperari ob Euangelion, est laudari: cruciari ob Euangelion, est coronari: aspergi infamia ob Euangelion, est honorari: pelli patria, et solum cogi vertere ob Euangelion est cælo municipem adscribi: interimi ob Euangelion, est seruari: miserum denique esse ob Euangelion, est esse felicissimum. Id dixit Christus, cum ait. Beati qui persecutionem patiuntur propter iustitiam, quoniam ipsorum est regnum cælorum. Beati eritis, cùm maledixerint vobis homines, & persecuti vos fuerint, & dixerint omne malum aduersum vos, mentientes propter me. Gaudete et exultate, quoniam merces vestra copiosa est in cœlis. Id confirmat Paulus, glorians in passionibus, contumelijs, necessitatibus & adflictionibus, quas propter Christum sustinebat. Confirmat Petrus, cum ait, gratiam inuenire apud Deum illos, qui crucem innoxij ferunt: ac tribulationes patiuntur, non vt homicidæ, non ut fures, non ut maledici, non ut alienorum raptores, set ut christiani. Confirmant Apostoli, qui

p. 12

[1] Sainte-Marthe is again indebted to Pliny. *Hist. Nat.* xxii; 30.

[2] Pliny says of bees: "Semper, duce prehenso, totum tenetur agmen. Amisso, dilabitur migratque ad alios." *Ibid.*, xxxvii; 18.

virgis cæsi, & ciuitate pulsi, gaudebant dignos se habitos esse, pro nomine Jesu contumeliam pati. Quid igitur persequendo seruum Dei, consecutus est, miser & cæcus ille? quid effecit? nisi quod me cruciare volens, se cruciauit ipsum? Instituerat certe se non cessaturum prius, quàm videret me flammis absumtum: set imaginatione id instituerat, non certo iudicio.

p. 13 Nam non ita visum est vestro Senatui, hominem innoxium sic è medio tollere: set conatus omnes aduersarij mei, et omnes eius nefarias deliberationes vna hora et verbo vno euanidas fecit. Fœmina in meo negocio salijt fœminam, & indè nata sunt ora Hyponemia, & Zephyria. Neque vero fieri aliter poterat, Domino sic seruis suis vigilante, ut nihil sine permissu eius contingere illis possit. Quamobrem, qui fidem euangelicam, aut in adultis confirmatam, aut teneram adhuc, & in piorum animum gliscentem, sua crudelitate conantur extinguere: possunt quidem ex mea caussa discere, frustra niti astutiam mortalium aduersus consilia diuina. Erat profecto vita mea magno in discrimine posita, cùm uinctus essem maximè, accusationem exaggerante criminis grauitate, quodque in extera terra peregrinus eram, pauper & omni prorsus auxilio destitutus: set erigebat me in spem liberationis, quod patrum nostrorum exemplis Dei bonitatem dediceram. Cum itaque Dauidis psalmos solus in obscuro & fœtido carcere in manibus haberem, & eos consolationis gratia legerem,

p. 14 incidi fortè in septimum, in quo gratias agit Deo, propter ignorantiam suam: nempè, quod non agnosceret crimen sibi a Semei, filio Jemini, obiectum de homicidio Saulis et regni eius inuasione. Ex cuius lectione didici, fi-

les omnes, de falso intentata ipsis calumnia obmurmurare non debere: set gratias agere Deo, ac opem ab eo certissima & inconcussa Fide expectare. Quo in numero cum me perspicerem esse, & mihi conuenire illum agnoscerem, meditatus sum paraphrasticam eius interpretationem: & mihi non inutilem, & infirmioribus calumniam patientibus necessariam. Desiderabit in ea Momus dictionem elegantiorem ac nitidiorem, utqui nauseat ad omnia quæ rhetorum condimentis et ornamentis carent: cui hoc solum responsum esse volo, scriptam ijs esse illam, qui malint salubria præcepta viuendi, qualicunque sermone proposita, quam pestiferas opiniones, a quouis eloquentissimo scriptore haurire. Prætereà, cum ab omnibus prope disp. 15 ciplinis eloquentiam requiramus, in hoc ipso laudatur Theologus, in quo aquæ laus est, nimirum ut probatur si nihil sapiat illa: sic, si infans sit ipse, & a Musis alienus. Atqui (dicet ille) quid Jurisconsulto cum Theologia? set respondeo, non minus esse me velle Theologum, quam Jurisconsultum: tum, quod huic disciplinæ totum me aliquando deuoui: tum quod est ipsa vt Opalus gemma in qu amultarum gemmarum dotes eminent:[1] nempe ignis carbunculi tenuior, amethysti

[1] The passage is borrowed from Pliny.

"Atque in pretiosissimarum gemmarum gloria compositi, maxime inenarrabilem difficultatem dederunt. Est enim in iis carbuncli tenuior ignis, est amythesti fulgens purpura, est smaragdi virens mare, et cuncta pariter incredibili mixtura lucentia. Alii summo fulgoris augmento colores pigmentorum æquavere: alii sulphuris ardentem flammam, aut etiam ignis oleo accensi." *Hist. Nat.*, xxxvii, 21.

purpura, smaragdi viror, idque incredibili quadam mixtura. Sic, quidquid apud vllos Ethnicos scriptores placere potest, in illa simul inuenitur. Porrò, tametsi Iurisprudentia summopere probanda est, tamen si nos totos illi studio addixerimus, sanitatem mentis aufert, & nos inanis gloriæ furore quodam, et habendi cupiditate immodica cæcos, præcipites agit. Insurgat alius, qui dicat me paraphraseos legem fuisse transgressum, nempe latius diuagatam, quam paraphrastis libertas ferat. Quisquis ille erit, vt volet, vel paraphrasim, vel meditationem, vel commentarios, laborem nostrum, nominet, nihil equidem mouear huiusmodi hominum superba malicia, quibus aliorum orationem reprehendere in procliui est, set eodem modo vel melius dicere non est perinde facile. Qualis qualis est hæc nostra consolatio, tibi, Galberte humanissime, deuouetur: cui enim iustius dicari posset? Aluisti me in carcere fame prope confectum, et innoxij Rei iniuriam perverti non es passus: quinimo caussæ meæ, pro tua virili (ut æquitas postulabat) tam acer fuisti defensor, ut proba perpeti non recusaueris odio nominis mei. De te hinc iudicent docti viri, ego quantum tibi debeam, & satis mihi conscius sum, & orbi universo (si viuam) testatissimum relinquam. Quare interea dum duos de re sepulchrali libros, & lectionum legalium quatuor expectabis, accipe, Galberte doctissime, gratitudinis meæ arrabonem, et (quod hactenus fecisti) Smarthanum tuum ama. Lugduni. 17 Cal. Iul. 1543.

p. 16

— *In Psalmum Septimum et Psalmum xxxiii, Paraphrasis*, pp. 3–16.

DEDICATION OF THE PARAPHRASE OF THE THIRTY-THIRD (THIRTY-FOURTH) PSALM.

G. (SIC) SMARTANUS JOANNI AUANSONIO, APUD GRATIANOPOLIM, REGIO SENATORIO AMPLISSIMO AC DOCTISSIMO S. D.

p. 134 Tanta fuit Maiorum nostrorum in euitanda ingratitudine relligio, Senator amplissime, ut non Dijs solum immortalibus, ac hominibus, verumetiam Brutis ipsis, testimonium redderint accepti officij. Erant urbes omnes peculari suo Deo dicatæ consecratæque: à quo, si, vel ab igne, vel à ruina, vel ab hostili inuasione, saluæ ac liberatæ foret, in gratiarum actionem Vitulum ei candidum mactabant. In bello, cuius incertus semper est exitus, inuocabatur Mars: cui, qui victoria potiti, de hostibus triumphum agebant, manubias consectabant: ac solemni sacrificio gratias agebant. Nautæ suo Neptuno remos ac rudentes vouebant in medijs procellis commoti Maris: ac subinde se data tempestate in portum vbi appulerant, acceptum officium sacrificio agnoscebant. Eandem animi grati-
p. 135 tudinem homnibus exhibebant, quorum virtute ac fortitudine Res publica liberata aut conseruata fuerat. Nam vel eos pro publica concione laudabant, vel statuas illis in perpetuum rei monumentum erigebant, vel corona insignitos, quam quæque res postulabat, aut ouantes, aut triumphantes in urbem redeuntes excipiebant. Fuerunt qui Brutis etiam gratitudinem animi significarunt, ob merita illorum. Alij venerabantur Elephantes, quòd cum Draconibus perpetuò pugnent. Alij Mustellas quòd Basilisco exitiale sint virus. Alij Ichneumonem, alij Lacertas, quòd æternum habeant

cum Aspide bellum. Sunt qui Stellones sint venen
propter capitalem illorum cum Scorpionibus inim
citiam. Atque hodie quoque, felix ac prosperi a
gurium arbitratur vulgus, Ciconiam habere hospitem
quod serpentibus infesta sit. Porrò non aliam d
caussam id faciebant, quàm quod eorum ope atq
auxilio, liberentur ab animalibus, homini suapte
natura inimicis: qualia sunt Dracones, Basilis
Scorpiones, Aspides, & Serpentes. Proponuntur autem
p. 137 nobis hæc exempla, ut ijs doceamur, de
cium esse officio rapendendum: ac dandam n
bis operam, ne patiamur notam ingratitudinis iustam
nobis ob caussam inuri. Quod si æquum est tam grat
esse nos erga omnes homines, a quibus beneficium ac
cepimus, quanto iustius erit, beneficiorum Dei erga nos
& memores & gratos esse nos? Si est ingratus, qui
officij ab Amico accepti est immemor, an non erit in
gratissimus, qui non agnoscit vltrò benefacientem
eum, quem multis sæpe modis offendit, & à quo, pro m
bonum accepit? Commissis nostris Deum irritamus
non dicam cottidiè, set omnibus horis, ac omni
momentis: qui tamen est tam liberalis erga nos tam
beneficus, vt postulantibus nihil neget. Imo vero
tam singularis eius est bonitas, ut quandoque ea nobis
affatim subministret, quæ præuidet è re nostra esse
etiam antequàm ipsi de petitione cogitauerimus. Non
repetit ille à nobis dona sua, non quærit talionem, nec
compensationem, (quis enim soluendo esset?) tantum
p. 137 postulat memorem & gratum animum: quem
vt illi exhibeamus indies singulos beneficios
beneficio accumulat: tantum abest, ut debita a nobis
ipse liberalissimus Creditor, velit repetere. Cæterum

non potest melius se gratus animus explicare, quàm commemoratione ac confessione accepti officij: atque gratiarum actione. Quamobrem, qui Dei clementiam, bonitatem, liberalitatem, ac pietatem expertus erit, Nomen eius celebret, extollat, prædicet: commemor et beneficia ipsius, et summa & multa: atque gratiam illi habeat, Fide, opere, ore, scripto, de quibuscumque poterit modis: ille profecto gratus tum in eum erit. Ad id nos incitat suo exemplo Dauid qui in pace ac ocio, gloriam dabat Deo, & potentiam eius ac celsitudinem prædicabat: in tribulationibus & angustijs, viua Fide instructus, illius opem implorabat: ac dæmum ab ijs liberatus, gratias ei agebat, & fideles omnes conuocabat ad commemorandam eius bonitatem. Illius ego vestigia insecutus, cum essem apud vos vinctus, et nihil prorsus haberem in Parentum, Amicorum ac hominum auxilio spei reliqui, confugi ad eum, qui consolationis est Deus, & qui, sperantibus in se presto est semper. Neque vero mea mihi spes imposuit, Auansoni optime, vtqui quam ab eo precibus & lachrymis postularam, sim tandem consecutus libertatem. Æquum erat itáque, vt solutus carcere, liberatorem agnoscerem meum: utque gratiam ei haberem & nomen eius sanctissimum ubique prædicarem: vt, qui erunt aliqua in angustia constituti, aut quacunque animi mæstitudine comprementur, meo commodo sapiant: atque postposita in creaturis vanissima spe, ad creatorem sese recipiant: ab eo quidquid iustum ac vtile illis fuerit impetraturi. Quamobrem, psalmum hunc Dauidis, paraphrastica interpretatione sumpsi explicandum, tum, quod dignus sit qui syllabatim ediscatur, propterea quod Fidem nostram non parum com-

p. 138

firmat: tum, quòd materiæ ac proposito nostro, qui
de industria seruiat. Nam cùm fugeret ille furore
Saulis, neque haberet tutum aliquem locum, in quem
se reciperet, & mortem declinaret, diuertit ad Achis
Regem Geth: atque inibi cùm aliquandiu mansisset
p. 139 à seruis & domestics Regis agnitus, vbi perspexit
vitam suam magno esse in discrimine, simulauit
insaniam: ac prorsus habitum & morem Epilepti-
cuiuspiam mentitus est: & eam ab caussam impetra
Regis expulsus, recta in speluncam Odollam diuertit
& ea simulatione à tanto periculo liberatus, hunc
psalmum scripsit, in quo gratias agit liberatori Deo
Sic ego, cum tam duriter tractari viderem me à vobis
ut mitius cum siccarijs, latronibus, homicidis, furibus
raptoribus ac deploratæ vitæ hominibus ageretur
simulavi certè insaniam: & sum ea consecutus, vt ego
in arcta prius & fœtida turre solus languebam, cum
Pedunculis, Semicibus, Soricibus, & Scorpionibus
colluctans, libertatem obtinuerim per quantulascum-
angustias carceris obambulandi. Id vbi adsecu-
fui, libertatula illa in spem me certissimum uocau-
futurum, vt qui iam me pedetentim cœperat liber-
tandem in plenam libertatem aliquando adseren
Quod aduersarij quidem mei neque volebant ne-
putabant: imo verò desperabant etiam, qui de
saluti, non minus quàm suæ, consultum esse voluisse
p. 140 Mouebat omnem lapidem caput istud obstip-
(dignior certe homo, qui sit, aut Porcarius a-
Bubulcus, quàm is cuius officio fungitur), vt per fas a-
nefas viuus concremarer: quo vt tandem peruen-
viros bonos & graues, quorum consuetudine familia-
sum vsus, ad falsum contra me testimonium proferen-

sollicitabat: & quod blanditijs ac corruptelis non poterat, tentabat, dolo ac minis, efficere. Habebat quoque suum patella operculum, nempè Sisamnem istum, silicernium & delirantem senem, stiuæ certe commodiorem quàm dicendo Iuri, qui Iudicis simul & Actoris partes tractabat. Hos duos satis nouit Gratianopolis, nouit inquam toto animi impetu fuisse impulsos in perniciem meam: ac nihil reliquisse intentatum, ut meo sanguine inexhaustam sitim suæ vindidictæ explerent. Set quomodo fauissent innocenti Reo, qui sunt innocentiæ persecutores? quomodo æquioris caussæ defensores fuissent, qui, quid sit Ius planè ignorant, suntque ad id tractandum tanquàm Asini ad lyram? quomodo denique fauore bonarum artium, doctrina excultum (licet mediocri) clementer
p. 141 & pro officio suo tractassent, qui sunt à Musis prorsus alieni, & omnium bonarum disciplinarum expertes? Iurarant illi in mortem meam, non modo cum fortunarum suarum, set salutis etiam suæ dispendio: tum, quod voluissent, & adhuc vellent, doctos omnes extinctos esse: tum, quod timerent quod euitare minime possunt: nimirum, ne mea amicorumque meorum industria, vt digni sunt tractentur ac suis pingantur coloribus. His accessit, quod eram in barbara ac prorsus Scythica terra, & solus & alienigena Gallus, longè à Patria, longè à Parentibus, longè ab Amicis: imo ijs planè destitutus, ac totus inermis. Cæterum quod inermem me voco, intelligo equidem inopiam paupertemque meam: quandoquidem diuitiæ ac opes multæ, nostro seculo arma sunt Reis validissima, contra accusationes & criminationes omnes, atque adeò aduersus quoslibet iudiciorum exitus. In tot

ac tantis periculis, quis de sua salute non dubitasset? atqui dubitare certè non potui, Dei bonitate ac auxilio fretus, quem, et legeram & multorum exemplo didiceram,
p. 142 suis semper plusquàm paterna sollicitudine prouidere: ac non sinere vt in tentationibus succumbant. Quid tandem? accidit certè mihi quod sperabam: nempè, praesentissima morte liberatus, pernquentium manus effugi. Quare, vt meo exemplo fidant Deo omnes qui adfliguntur, vt gustent suauitatem misericordiæ eius, vtque illum solum timeant, hac paraphrasi gratias illi ago, & libertatem meam illi soli acceptam fero. Tibi autem, qualis qualis est, Auansoni doctissime, à me dicatur, nimirum Amico singulari: eo tam gratum fuit, mortis periculum me declinasse, quam fuit graue et molestum, cum nouercate Fortuna in vinculis tamdiu colluctasse, & tot incommoda pertulisse. Quod vt mihi persuadeam, facit, & tua in meliores literas propensissima voluntas, ac eruditio certe cum iudicij maturitate non vulgaris, & summa illa tua erga me merita: quæ de tua in me voluntate fidem mihi locupletissime fecerunt. Valebis itaque Auansoni disertissime & Smarthani tui innocentiam probè tibi perspectam, pro charitatis Christianæ officio, proque tua summa humanitate, esse apud vos sartam tectam
p. 143 curabis. Nam scio aduersarios meos, cùm non potuerint suam crudelitatem meo sanguine satiare, nomen meum omnibus probris aspersuros. Sciant velim, me vituperationem illorum laudi maximæ ducere: dum modo dignitas mea apud Senatum vestrum amplissimum illabefactata & integra maneat: de cuius in me voluntate dubitare non possum: quandoquidem tam multi estis in vestro ordine, & boni, & docti Sena-

tores, ut quos Bestiæ, insectantur doctrinæ nos aspernandæ viros, ipsi vestra sponte diligatis & ab omni prorsus iniuria vindicetis. Jesus Christus, redemptor noster, te sua gratia impleat, Senator eruditissime & humanissime. Lugduni. Calendis Iuliis, 1543.

—*In Psalmum Septimum et Psalmum xxxiii, Paraphrasis*, pp. 144–143.

LETTER TO THE DOMINICAN, LOUIS DUFOUR.

C. Smarthanus F. Ludovico Fournæo Iacobitæ Theologo S.D.

[p. 212] Paraphrasim nostram, fratibus ordinis tui, doctis et catholicis uiris perplacuisse, summopere gaudeo, Ludouice suauissime: tum quòd à probatis uiris probari, laudi summæ ducendum est: tum, quòd hoc tam turbulento seculo, non uulgare quidem Dei donum est, Theologis placere: & ijs, quibus inquisitionis prouincia demandata est. Nam sunt qui doctorum & Theologorum titulo gloriantes, insania propè rumpuntur, cum uident alios, quanquàm doctrina sine nomine insignes, aliquid Theologicæ meditationis in apertum proferre. Porrò, scribis nihil inter legendum illis occurrisse, quod admittendum non sit: nisi quod dubitant, ne, quæ scribo de malis Principibus, de corruptis iudicibus, ac de impijs hominibus ueritatis hostibus, aliter accipiantur, quàm forte intelligam: nempè aduersus eos dictum, qui, hodié sectarum seditiosos amatores & pessimè de nostra religione

p. [213] sentientes persequuntur ac puniunt. Ego uero, Furnæe, Hæreticos omnes, Atheos, Ana-

baptistas, carnales istos Euangelicos, & turbulentos huius generis ac pestiferos homines sic odi, ut cupiam è medio iam sublatos esse illos : tantum abest ut inuidi velim in magistratus, qui seuerissime in ipsos animaduertunt. Quod scribo de Principibus, qui malo consilio acquiescentes, saeviunt in bonos et pios, intelligo de ijs quorum mores facta satis ostendunt, quales experta est Italia sæpè multos, & non ita pridem Anglia. Sed nominatim illos exprimere non placuit, cùm periculosum sit de Principibus huiusmodi etiam uera scribere. De iudicibus malis & impijs hominibus quod scribo, non ignoras quo tendit : nempè tanguntur ij qui sub Lutheranismi prætextu, crudelitatem uindictæ suae in me innoxium exercuerunt : quos etiam dico suis censuris innoxios ab hominum commercio et ab ipsa quoque Ecclesia excludere : de me ipso loquens, quem solum obscuro loco concludi curauerunt : nec id tantum, uerumetiam à sacratissima Eucharistiæ communione, tanquam Judæum seu Turcam repulerunt, quamquàm nullius planè criminis conuictum. Quod, nunquid est ab Ecclesia arcere

p. [214] Nunquid ueritatem oppugnare? Oppugnat siquidem illam, qui, & quod non est uerum obijcit : & quod uerum est non admittit. Quod superest, non ignoro fuisse semper, et adhuc esse, qui calumniantur quæ recta sunt, sinistrè interpretantur quæ sunt dubia, exaggerant quæ sunt leuia, et in omnibus sunt inclementes sunt iudices, ut magis hoc agant, ut perdant eum qui fortè prolapsus erit, quam ut sanent. Set non dubito ne qui uerè Theologi, hoc est æqui, boni, ac docti sunt, ab omni me iniuria uindicent : præsertim, Ecclesiæ iudicio, mea qualiacunque omnia sint opera subiecta

tentem. Commentarios nostros in Psal. 118. ociosus relegam & recognitos (ut à me postulas) emittam. Vale, Furnæe doctissime, & ordinis uestri fauorem quem mihi conciliasti, sic faueto: ut indies magis atque magis coalescat. Gratianopoli, 24. Calendas. Aprilis. 1543.

—*In Psalmum Septimum et Psalmum xxxiii, Paraphrasis*, pp. [212]–[214].

DEDICATION OF THE MEDITATION ON THE NINETIETH (NINETY-FIRST) PSALM.

CAROLUS SANCTOMARTHANUS GASTONO OLIUARIO MANCII DOMINO. S. D.

fol. 2 r° Quemadmodum grassante peste, non solum qui sunt infecti, set sani etiam ac integra valitudine, ad medicos recurrunt, atque ab eis utrique auxilium & opem postulant: illi, ut curentur: hi, ut pharmacis & salutari aliquo moly, præseruentur: Ita, rescissa hodie per tot tamque varias opiniones Christanorum concordia, frigescente charitate, vacillante Fide, ac spe ex omnium ferme animis excussa, crescente in dies hominum malitia, finesque suos dilatante Atheismo, necesse quidam est, & ijs quos sectarum diuersitas adeò certè anxios ac dubios reddidit, ut quid credant, cuive parti adhæreant, prorsus incertum habeant: & ijs quoque qui nullis adhuc opinionem labyrinthis inuoluti implicatique sunt, ad doctorem aliquem pium sese recipere, qui mutantes sustinere, lapsos erigere, errantes in viam revocare, eosque, qui a fide ac Spe
fol. 2 v° non exciderunt, magis ac magis confirmare, & in christianismo continere queat. Doctores

quidem habemus ac Theologos & Ecclesiastes numero multos, & doctrina excellentes, quorum alij publicis lectionibus, alij concionibus, alij scriptis in lucem emissis commentarijs, quam nacti sunt Spartam probe ornant: & nihil intentantum relinquunt, ut christiana religio sarta tecta manet. Verum nobis semper in manu non sunt, neque illi licit per ocium votis nostris, quoties volumus respondere: vt interim taceam, quodsi peregre profiscaris, si ruri habites, si non detur in frequentia hominum vivere, cohortatoribus illis ac consultatoribus vti non valeas. Danda itaque nobis est opera, ut si ex tam magno numero aliquis sese offerat, qui præsens nobis ac præsto semper esse velit, ipsum ut retineamus. Præstare autem id vivi vix possunt: mortui quidem per eorum quæ extant scripta possunt: parumque nobis operam commodare valent, qui superstites agunt. Set vereor, ne morbis omnibus qui animum nostrum
fol. 3 r° occupabant, remedium acque nobis prescribere, atque ipsi desiderabimus non possint: videam in scriptis hominum, nescio quid semper humani existere. Quæ quum ita sint, eadem nobis est adhibenda in salute spiritus cura, quam solemus in corporis valetudine mala adhibere: nimirum, vt quemadmodum qui decumbit, optimum quemque ac fidissimum Medicum aduocat, ita qui animo laborat illum ipsum consolatorem eligat, qui pietate maxime valeat. Quum autem Spiritus sanctus, animarum nostrarum Medicus & consolator, neminem esse adversanum puto, ut vel neget, vel ambigat, ad eum nobis concurrendum esse.

Verum, vbi melius ac promptius reperitur, quam e

scriptis illorum, quibus ipse tanquam organo vsus est? Nempe Mosis, Prophetarum, & Apostolorum? Præsentes illi nobis esse semper, nobiscum pernoctare, nobiscum perigrinari, nobiscum loqui possunt: neque vllum morbis animæ nostræ remedium desiderabimus, quod illi statim & affatim non suppeditent. Cæterum, inter omnia quæ in manu sunt Bibliorum volumina,
fol. 3 v° unus David sic tristes recreat, mœstos solatur, tristes mitigat, languentes reficit, animo deiectos erigit, [se?] malè habentes sanat, in prosperis confirmat, in aduersis sustinet, vt non immeritò Hebræi pueros suos eius doctrina tanquam lacte primo imbibant, censeantque Hilarius, Orig. Aug. Hieron. & Chrysost. de manibus illum deponi nunquam debere. Quod ad me adtinet, fateor me Davidis psalmis sic capi, vt quod de Cicerone dicebat Plinius, eum doctum sese existimare, cui ille placuisset, idem de Davide dicam, posse Christianum de gratia Spiritus Dei certum esse, qui psalmorum lectione oblectabitur. Qua in sententia quum te quoque vir doctissime, esse cognoscerem, ac te voluptatem omnem in eo libro reponere, ex sermone tuo perspicerem: simulque tua in me multa & magna officia expenderem, placuit meditatiunculam, quam in nonagesimum psalmum conscripsi tuo nomini dicatam in apertum dare. Tibi quin grata & accepta sit, nihil plane dubito: idemque ab ijs expecto, qui pietatem toto pectore tecum amplexantur: de quibusdam autem, qui scripta trahunt
fol. 4 r° in calumniam omnia, quid candidi dextrique indicij expectem? Tu itaque quibus occupationibus ocium temporis fallam, vide: ac nostra meditatione fruere, donec integrum Psalmorum opus,

in hendecasyllabos à me redactum, tibi legenda mittam. Vale amicorum optime.

Lutetiæ Parisiorum quarto Idus Iulij. 1559.

—*In Psalmum Nonagesimum Pia Admodum & Christiana Meditatio, per Carolum Sanctomarthanum Fontebraldensem I. V.D.*

PREFACE TO THE LATIN VERSION OF THE FUNERAL ORATION ON THE QUEEN OF NAVARRE.

C. SANCTOMARTHANUS LECTORI CANDIDO S.

p. [2] Tam corrupti sunt nostri temporis mores, Lector optime, ut eruditi omnes, ac boni viri, suas vigilias in apertum emittere non audeant. Sunt enim non pauci, quorum alii ingenio certe ac doctrina præstant: sed cæca quædam philautia laborantes, alii judicant posteritate dignum, quod non ipsi scripserint; alii, tametsi nec judicio valeant, nec sint melioribus disciplinis exculti, temere tamen adversus omnium hominum scripta pronuntiant. Qui malunt Ciceronianos se quam Christianos esse, quidquid non accedit ad Ciceronis eloquentiam respuunt: neque interim ullam habent rationem reconditioris doctrinæ, quæ satis confirmat Scriptorem non esse ex numero cicadarum, aures tantum oblectantium. Philosophi, qui sibi arcem veræ eruditionis occupasse videntur, jejunas omnes et aridas scriptiones appellant, quæ de philosophia non tractant.

p. 3 Athei rident omnia, quum sint ipsi omnium maxime ridiculi. Sycophantæ, domnia rapiunt in calumniam. Poetæ proscindunt omnia. In summa sumus prope omnes in tot sententias & opiniones distracti, ut nondum satis mihi constet, debeamus ne cum Democrito insanians ridere nostram, an cum Her-

clito nostram ipsorum miseriam flere, qui vix possumus umbram nostram ferre. Ego sane, lector candide, non expecto aliud de hac funebri laudatione judicium, quam quod in dies singulos de scriptis eruditissimis fieri video. Ciceroniani, dictionem Jurisconsulti hominis fastidient. Rhetores, e sua schola orationem ejicient, quæ orationis partes non habeat & a rhetoricis præceptionibus recedat. Tot digressiones damnabunt: tot autorum (*sic*) nomina orationi inserta esse improbabunt: tot denique ex historiis sumpta exempla, tanquam supervacanea rejicient. Interim vero non expendent, de industria id me fecisse: qui potius historiam scribere vellem quam Orationem. Atqui non erat orationis titulo emittenda, nisi dignitas orationis servaretur. Sit ita. Tu, igitur, cum Cicerone, ac Quintiliano voca Laudationem. Set non ego
p. 4 certe in hoc scripseram, ut ederetur: verum ut a me Alenconii pronunciaretur, si reginæ nostræ funebris pompa celebrata fuisset. Quod quum tam diu differri viderent amici omnes mei, quibus mecum jactura quam feci, communis est: suo jure a me impetrarunt ut in apertum illa prodiret. Audio *Petrum Paschalium* virum eruditissimum & mihi aliquando Avenione cognitum, statuisse, Reginæ vitam literis mandare. Quod si semel tentarit, quam id ille feliciter perficiet, vel ex sola oratione quam in obitum Maulii scripsit, judicare poteris. Nimis ergo difficiles esse Cicer[on]ianos dicam, si *Paschalii* tam pura tamque tersa dictio palato illorum grata non sit. Vale. Datum Alenconii, Idibus Martiis, 1550.

— *In obitum incomparabilis Margaritæ, . . . Nauarrorum Reginæ Oratio funebris*, etc., pp. [2]–4.

PREFACE TO THE FUNERAL ORATION ON THE DUCHESS OF BEAUMONT.

CHARLES DE SAINCTE MARTHE, DOCTEUR ES DEUX,
AU LECTEUR, SALUT.

Tu sçais, Lecteur, que le commun proverbe dit: Qui aime, aime apres la mort. Et un autre dit: Loue apres la mort. Si nous devons donc louer les trespassés, non pas en detracter, comme font ceuls qui tiennent de la nourriture Arcadique: & qu'il nous soit aussi commandé rendre tesmoignage de nostre amitié plus apres la mort, que durant la vie: j'ay bonne & recevable excuse d'auoir loué, par louenge funebre, celle qui meritoit toute sorte de louenge, & qui par ses bienfaicts m'avoit obligé à la louer: j'entends de la defuncte Royne de Navarre. Mais je ne sçay ou nous pourrions trouver cuisinier, qui feist saulse agreable à touts appetits, veu les diverses qualités des ventricules. Je dy, que les jugements des hommes sont si divers (que je ne die pervers), qu'il est impossible que si Homere, Ciceron, & leurs semblables vivoient, leurs escripts ne leur fussent insipides. C'est pitié d'ouir faire recit, de combien de parts ma pauvre oraison a esté assaillie, blessee degettee, voire & de plusieurs qui sont plus insipides que la Bete. Or maintenant que je t'en envoye une autre, sur le trespas de Françoise d'Alençon, Duchesse de Beaumont, douairiere de Vendosmois, que m'en adviendra il? Si les parolles des jugements des personnes estoient ainsi trenchantes qu'est une espee nouvellement affilee, je perdroie aujourd'huy un membre, & demain l'autre, & bien tost je seroie tout destrenché & mis en pieces. Mais

Dieu y a pourveu, qui a faict les langues de nos detracteurs estre comme une espee de plomb, dens un fourreau sanglant. Je ne desisteray donc de poursuivre mon entreprinse: je dy de mettre en lumiere, & la seconde oraison, & les autres oeuvres, ou tous les jours je travaille, dont auras bonne partie dens peu de temps: Aydant le createur, que je supply, Lecteur candide, te donner sa saincte grace.

Escript à Alençon le xii. d'Octobre. 1550.

—*Or. fun. . . . de F. d'A.*, fol. 2 r° and v°.

LEGAL DOCUMENTS.

AGREEMENT OF SAINTE-MARTHE WITH JEAN DE TARTAS.

Du 4me de decembre 1553.

A esté présent et personnellement estably maistre Charles de Saincte-Marthe, maistre ès arts, natif de Fontevrault, diocèse de Poictiers, et à présent demeurant à Bourdeaulx, au collège de Guyenne, lequel de son bon gré et volunté bien instruict de son faict, ainsi qu'il a dict, a promis et promect par ces présentes à monsieur Maistre Jehan de Tartas, principal dudict colliège de Guyenne, illec présent, pour luy, ses hoirs et successeurs stippullant et acceptant, demeurer dedans ledict colliège ou ailheurs où ledict colliège sera séant tant en la prèsente ville que dehors d'icelle pour l'espace d'un an comply, finy et revolu, commenssant le jourd'huy et finissant à mesme jour et terme pour en icelluy colliège regenter et faire classe et regle à composer et prononcer oraisons, dialogues, comediès et lire publiquement, toute ainsi que le plaisir sera dudict principal luy dire et commander, et auquel

principal ledict de Saincte-Marthe a promis et se tenu obèyr et à son pouvoir servir en toutes choses le honnorer et garder son preffict et honneur en et contre tous, et lui èviter, réveller et advertir dommaige, et en icelluy collièige vivre quictement soy maintenir en humilité scolastique et colligial vertus et bonnes meurs, en l'honneur de Dieu pu ment, dudict principal et dudict collège, sans mettre en dict, ny en faict, bandes, monopoles, ne aucune chouse scandaleuse, ne vitieuse, aussy sans dire, dèclairer ne reveller à aucun ledict colliège, ne hors icelluy, la manière de vi faict et secret dudict colliège, et pour les gaiges, et stipendies dudict de Ste Marthe, pour ledict ledict mons. de Tartas lui a donné la somme de cinq livres tournois, laquelle somme ledict de Marthe a confessé avoir eue et receu entièrement avant ces présentes dud. de Tartas, tant en robbes habilhemens que en or.

Archives Départementales de la Gironde. Garde-Notes Cast. 1533.

LETTERS PATENT, REAPPOINTING SAINTE-MARTHE PROCUREUR GÉNERAL OF THE DUCHY OF BEAUMONT.

Antoine, Duc de Vendosme, et de Beaumont, Pair de France, comte d'Armagnac, de Roddez, Couverson Marle et Soissons, Baron d'Epernoy, Mondoubleau Brou, Brion et Apurilly Surdan et Broye, — Seigneur d'Anguien, d'oysy, de Ham, Bohain, — Beaurevoir Vendeuil, d'Ailly-sur-Noye, de dunkerke, Bourbourg Grauelines et Roddez en flandres, chastelain de l'Isle

Gouverneur et Lieutenant general pour Monseigneur le Roy ez pays de picardie Boulenois et Arthois. A Tous ceux qui ces presentes lettres verront, Salut. Comme par l'erection que faist feu Monseigneur le Roy du Vicomté de Beaumont en Duché, nostre deffuncte treshonorée Dame et Mere, que Dieu absolue, eust cree plusieurs offices pour l'administration de la police et justice dudict Duché, et entre autres un procureur general lequel eust superintendance sur tous et chacuns les autres procureurs, et lesquels procureurs demeuroient comme substituds dudit procureur general, nostre dicte deffuncte Dame et Mere eut pourueu nostre Amé et feal Messire Charles de Sainte Marthe, Docteur es droites et retenu de son conseil. Par la mort de laquelle ledict Duché de Beaumont nous seroit escheu et tous les offices d'iceluy demeurez en nostre disposition ; Scauoir faisons que pour la bonne et entiere confiance que nous avons de la personne dudict de Saincte-Marthe, — et pour ces sens, suffisance, litterature, fidellité, et qu'il s'est bien et sans reprehension gouverné audict estat, en consideration aussy des services qu'il a faicts à nostre dicte feu dame et Mere et esperons qu'il nous fera cy apres. Iceluy de Sainte Marthe auons retenu et retenons en l'estat de nostre Conseiller, et luy auons donné et conferé, donnons et conferons par ces presentes, ledict office de procureur general en nostre dict Duché de Beaumont aux gages de six vingts liures par an. Sur Saonnye trente Liures, sur chasteau Gontier vingt Liures, sur la flesche vingt liures, sur Fresnay dix liures, et sur Beaumont dix liures, qui est en tout six vingts liures payables à deux termes. Scauoir est la Sainct Jean et Noel le premier

payement commençant a la feste de sainct Jean prochain, venant. Pour d'Iceluy en iouir demeurant aux droicts, esmolumens, franchises, preeminences et libertes qui y appartient tant qu'il nous plaira. Lequel procureur General voulons, intendons et nous plaist auoir la superintendance sur tous nos autres procureurs de nostre dict Duché, qui demeureront ses substituds seulement en sorte qu'en sa presence ne feront estat ou exercise de procureur general des affaires qui surviendront en nostredit Duché, chacun en son endroit pour y estre par luy donné ordre, et si besoin est nous en advertir la part ou serons. Duquel estat de procureur general ledit de Saincte Marthe a Jourdhuy presté entre nos mains le serment en tel cas requis et accoustumé. Si mandons a chacun de nos Receveurs et fermiers de nostredit Duché de Beaumont presens et à venir, qu'ils ayent a payer audit de Sainte Marthe la dicte somme de six vingts Livres selon l'apreciation et cottite de chacun d'eux aux termes susdicts, et rapportant par eux les presentes Lettres, ou le vidimus d'icelles deuement collationé avec quittance dudict de Sainte Marthe, quand besoin sera. Les sommes ainsy par eux payez audit de Saincte Marthe leur seront allouez par les auditeurs de leurs comptes. Ausquels mandons ainsy le faire sans difficulté. Car tel est nostre plaisir. Mandons en outre á nostre Amé et feal conseiller, et seneschal de nostre dit Duché et a ses Lieutenans avec lesquels voulons et nous plaist ledit de Saincte Marthe, nostre conseiller et procureur general, assister et participer a la vuidange des procés civils et en leur absence tenir le siege et jurisdiction. Et a nos autres Justiciers et officiers qu'il appartien-

dra, qu'ils fassent, laissent, et souffrent, facent laisser et souffrir ledict de Sainte Marthe iouir et user pleinement et paisiblement de l'effect de nosdictes presentes comme nostre conseiller et procureur general. Nonobstant toutes autres lettres a ce contraires si aucunes ont esté cydevant de nostre feu Dame et Mere ou de nous obtenues: Lesquelles auons reuocquez et revocquons par ces presentes, et Scellès declarons de nulle valleur et effect. En tesmoing de ce nous auons signé ces presentes de nostre main, et a scelles fait mettre nostre scel. Doné a la feire le septiesme jour de Januier l'an 1550, signé Anthoine: et sur le reply par Monseigneur le Duc et pair de Valentiennes et scelé en queue double de cire rouge.

—*Genealogie de la Maison de Sainte Marthe*, fols. 27 v°–29 v°.

SAINTE-MARTHE'S BRIEF IN RE *THE ALIENATION OF LANDS IN THE DUCHY OF BEAUMONT, AND OTHER EXTRACTS FROM THE PROCÈS-VERBAUX DES VENTES FAITES AU NOM. DU ROI, DES LANDES DU MAINE, PAR SES COMMISSAIRES FRANÇOYS BOYLÈVE, CONSEILLER AU PARLEMENT DE PARIS, ET JEAN TESTE, DIT DE BRETAGNE, AVOCAT DU ROI, DANS LA VICOMTÉ D'AUGE, 5 SEPT.–8 NOV. 1550.*

8 novembre 1550, Fresnay.

Et ledit jour nous estans audit lieu de Fresnoy en l'hostellerie ou nous estions logez accompaignez de plusieurs personnes seroit venu par devers nous a l'issue de notre disner ledit de Saincte-Marthe accompaigné d'Aucuns qu'il disoit estre officiers dudit Seigneur de

Vendosme et nous a presenté deux feuillets de papier scriptes signé de luy et de quelques autres signatures et nous a dict que estoit le plaidoyé qu'il avoit fait ce jour precedent comme nous voulliens proceder à ladicte adjudecation desdictes landes, nous requerant d'icelles faire lecture et ordonner l'icelluy estre inséré transcript en nostre procès verbal; ce faict suivant d'icelluy faict lecture et en faisant la lecture d'icelluy luy aurions remonstré que tout ce qui estoit transcript n'avoit este par luy plaidé, lequel nous auroit dict que ne luy aurions donné le loisir de le dire joinct la clameur du grant peuple. . . .

18 novembre 1550, Fresnay.

De Sainte-Marthe retourne auprès de Boylève, commissaire, pour lui dire que "la rature mise et apposée en la teste en marge de son dict plaidoye en laquelle il y avoit ces motz: *approbé en rature*, dont il avoit appelé n'estoit bien."

Ensuit la teneur dudit plaidoyé, signé de Saincte-Marthe.

Ce sont les remonstrances que faict a vous, messieurs mᵉˢ Françoys Boyleve, conseiller du roy nostre sire, et Jehan Teste dict de Bretaigne, advocat dudit seigneur en pays d'Auge, commissaires depputez par ledit seigneur pour vendre les landes communes et terres vacques des pays d'Anjou et du Maine, messire Charles de Saincte Marthe, docteur es droictz, conseiller de monseigneur le duc de Vendosme et de Beaumont, per de France, et procureur General dudit segneur duc en son duché de Beaumont pour empescher, pour et au nom dudit seigneur duc, l'execution de vostre dire

commission[1] quant a la vente et allienation de terres vacques, landes, et communes, scises et scituées en et audedans dudit duche dé Beaumont.

Et premierement.

Dict ledit procureur que les ducz d'Allençon quattre ou cinq cens ans y a et davantage ont tousjours esté paisibles et pacificques possesseurs du viconté de Beaumont en proprieté non contredicte ne limitté par les deffunctz roys et sans jamais y avoir pretendu autre droict que de souveraineté.

Et lequel viconte par partaige de succession est escheu a deffuncte dame et princesse madame Françoyse d'Allençon, qui en a joy et usé plainement et paisiblement comme dict est jusques a la mort ; de laquelle dame ledit seigneur duc est filz aisné et principal heritier.

Ce fut le bon plaisir du roy deffunt (que Dieu absolve) en faveur de la maison de Vendosme, qui de pres touche la couronne et qui a toujours esté affecté au service d'icelluy, eriger ledict viconté en duchè par laquelle erection touteffoys ne se reserva ledict seigneur autre droict sur la proprieté et possession dudit duché fors la souveraineté.

Item a faict ledit duché par ladicte erection exempté des jurisdictions et ressortz des pays d'Anjou et du Maine et renvoyé immédiatement a la Cour de Parlement a Paris, en sorte que ledict duché n'est plus membre de l'un ne de l'autre desdicts pays d'Anjou et du Maine.

Il est aussy, mesdits seigneurs, que le roy voullant

[1] *I.e.* Letters of commission given the above named by Henri II, St. Germain-en-Laye, August 28th and 29th, 1550, and Vendôme, March, 1550.

tousjours user d'office de bon et équitable prince sa faire tort ne grief a aulcun de ses subjectz, n'a entend et n'entend par la teneur de votre commission fair baillies, ventes ne alliénacion desdictes landes et communes, terrès vacques et semblables, sinon de celle qui sont en son dommaine et qui luy appartienne Toutteffoys ainsi, messieurs, que ledit procureur a est adverty que vous auez faict publier les ventes de landes et terres vacques communes de Sainct-Pate du Grand et Petit-Bercon et Oysseau, en Tonnoy, Beru Assé, Maresché et autres plusieurs landes et commune lesquelles sont de l'encloz et appartenances dudit duch et des baronnyes de Tonnoys et de Fresnoy, membre dudit duché, desquelles soubz correction ne pourr estre faicte allienation sans l'evedent dommaige et ap partenances du roy.

Que si on voulloit dire que duchez, contez et b ronnyes et generallement toutes les terres et seigneuri sont et appartiennent audit seigneur per *L. bene a le c; de quador prestres* (?), il est vray, et personne ne peult nyer, mays il s'entend quant a la protection, p ce que tout est en sa protection et sauvegarde (*ut glossa, in L. barbarus, ff. de ff. preside.*) Item tout e aussi a luy en tant que droict commung son intenti est bien fondée sur tout ce qui est dans son royaul et aux fins d'icelluy quant a la jurisdiction et so verainеté; car il n'y a duc, conte, baron ne seign de qui ledit seigneur ne soit souverain personne, jurisdiction que de luy; mais atribuer telle seigneu a la propriete et que ledit seigneur voullust dire q tout est a luy a ce tiltre, ce seroit deroger au nom roy et seroit faire tort audit seigneur qui, comm

vray et bon roy, ne veult en riens fouller ses subjectz, ains veult et entend justice leur estre faicte tant contre luy que pour luy ; mais au contraire que lesdictes landes, terres vacques et communes dudit duché ne soient en propriété audit duc, qui le doubte ? Ledict seigneur est souverain, mays ledict duc en demeure seigneur proprietaire (*ut scribit, panor., in c. dilligenti, et ibidem Hostien. de prescriptione*).

Il y a davantaige que si mesmes lesdictes terres, landes, et communes estoient "infra fines" dudit duché ainsy que les landes et terres vacques des limites des forestz sont aux seigneurs des foretz, aussy seroient elles audit seigneur duc et luy appartiennent toutes qui y sont (*ita scribit Paul, de castro, in l. I. ff. de acq. possess. eo. Chas. seneus, In caus. burg. titre des mains-mortes, ff. iiij°*).

Puisqu'ainsy est, par plus forte raison lesdictes landes et communes qui sont en et audedans dudit duché appartiennent audit seigneur duc. . . . (*ratio totius ad totum quae est partes ad partem; L, quae de toto . . . de rei vendi*). Si tout ledit duché est audit duc et que icelluy roy ne prétende rien, qui dira que les nombres et les parties dudit duché ne soient aussy audit seigneur duc, et pour conséquent quel droict y peult pretendre le roy ? aussy a tresbien dict (*valde, in. rubo. c. de cont. empt. per. l. res sacra. ff. co. tit.*) que toutes terres et aultres choses vacques n'ayans particullier seigneur de droict commung sont a celluy a qui le territoire appartient. Puys donc que ledit duché est au seigneur duc, qui vouldra dire que les terres vacques du dedans dudit duché n'appartiennent audit seigneur ?

Et ne pourroit préjudicier audit seigneur duc de

dire que lesdites terres, landes vacques et communes sont usurpées par le populaire ; car ores qu'ainsi fut, et a qui feroit ledit populaire tort, ou au roy qui n'a droit en la proprieté dudit duché et a qui lesdictes terres n'appartiennent, ou audict seigneur duc a qui ledit duché et tout ce qui est en et au dedans d'icelluy appartient ; mais les ducz d'Allençon, vicomtes de Beaumont, ont eté princes si benings envers leurs pauvres subjectz que pour les soullaiger et supporter de toutes leurs puissances les souffroient et ont tousjours souffert et permis user desdictes communes landes et terres vacques et y nourrir des baistes pour eux ayder a vivre. Que si l'on veult priver le peuple de ce bénéfice, mettre lesdictes terres en labeur et leur donner seigneur proprietaire, et ne fault aller chercher autre seigneur d'elles que ledict seigneur duc, a qui elles doibvent retourner comme a leur seigneur.

Il y a plus, que d'aucunes desdites terres vacques furent jadis en forestz, apartindrent aux vicontes de Beaumont depuys et demeure le fond pour pasturages ou y a plusieurs vassaulx et subgetz dudit seigneur duc qui luy font certains debvoirs pour l'usaige desdites terres vacques landes et communes et le rendant par déclaration et adveu, ainsy qu'il sera monstré quant besoing sera.

Si le roy faict en son nom alliénation des dictes terres et que, comme porte votre commission, les ecuz retournez a ces receptes d'Anjou et du Maine, il donne manifestement le dommaine dudit seigneur duc et interesse grandement la jurisdiction dudit duché contre l'intention du feu roy son pere qui par ladicte erection et par tous autres moyens desiroit eslever et advancer

ladicte maison de Vendosme comme le plus proche de son sang, et davantaige feroit aussi ledit seigneur contre son intention et désir qui est de favoriser et ayder audit seigneur duc et a toute sa noble maison et mesmes ne gêner aucunes de ses subjectz tant petit soit il.

Et ou touteffoys vous procedderiez a l'aliénation desdictes landes, terres et communes qui sont de l'encloz et du dedans dudit duché, ledict seigneur, comme dict est, diminuroit ledit dommaine et jurisdiction dudit seigneur duc et feroit inestimable dommaige a ses subjectz qui est tout le contraire de l'intention dudict seigneur contenue en votre commission.

Pour ses causes et autres raisons que dédiura ledict procureur en temps et lieu, si mestier est, vous requiert ledit procureur pour ledit seigneur duc que votre plaisir soit supperceder l'intention de ladicte commission quant a la vente et allienation desdictes landes, terres vacques, et communes estans en et audedans dudict duché tant es baronnies de Saincte-Suzanne, Chateau-Gontier, la Flèche, que de Tonnoys, Fresnay et Beaumont jusques ad ce que ledict procureur ait entendu les droictz dudit seigneur duc.

Et ou vous, messieurs, ne vouldrez entendre aux remonstrances dudit procureur, s'oppose ledit procureur pour ledit seigneur duc a la dicte execution et ventes desdictes terres, et si, nonobstant son opposition, voullez passer oultre sans avoir esgards a ses dictes remonstrances, proteste d'en appeler et avoir son recours au il appartiendra.

Présenté a mes dicts seigneurs commissaires au lieu de Fresnoy, le septiesme novembre mil cinq cens cin-

quante. Ainsi signé: de Saincte-Marthe. Signé: Bleve. Ledit proces-verbal annexé avec lesdictes lettres patentes[1] soubs ung cordon de soye rouge et vert.

L'an mil cinq cens soixante quatre, le mardy quatrieme jour de juillet par nous Vincent Maupeou et Jehan Angirart, notaires du roy nostre sire au chastelet de Paris a esté faicte collation des coppies tant desdictes lettres patentes que dudit proces-verbal cy devant transcriptes, contenant ensemble deux ou trois roolles estan comprins aux originaulx d'icelle coppies escripts en parchemin sains et entiers, lesd. original de procès verbal contenant trois cens tant roolles de parchemyn dont le dernier escript a la première paige seulement.

Maupeou. Angirart.

— *Bibl. Mun. du Mans*, 79, bis, fol. 199 r°-208 r°.

LETTERS ADDRESSED TO SAINTE-MARTHE

Leon de Saincte More, dit de Monthozier, Chevalier de l'ordre de sainct Jean de Hierusalem, a Charles da Saincte Marthe, Salut.

Mon Voisin, ce qui m'induict à t'escrire est ta bien reputée renommée: & t'ayant entendu, en maints lieux, ou as esté depuis ton departement de Poictiers de maints regretté. Et nonobstant qu'as soubstenu plusieurs adverses Fortunes, es pays loingtains, à toy toutefoy prosperes: as esté dernierement bien venu & mieulx receu, en ce tant honorable College de Lyon: estant des scavants trouvé capable, à la professer publique, des quattre tant estimées & utiles Langues Hebraicque, Grecque, Latine, & Gallicque: qui fait

foy certaine, que l'Eternel maintient continuellement en vertu ceulx qui bien l'ayment, & bien traictent ses tant recommendées parolles: contre l'opinion & sinistre jugement d'aulcuns. Si ton Pere, que je cognoy, bien estimé par ses Vertus & lettres, peut au long estre adverty ta pergrination avoir esté exercé en scavoir & louable vie: aura merveilleusement aggreable ton heureux & desiré retour, faisant le debvoir paternel. De tes Freres, ilz ne fauldront au naturel, & deu commandé, & te peux persuadder, que tu en as aulcuns, desquels useras comme de toy: & qui ont le desir (sans fiction) te secourir de tout leur pouvoir, Je vouldroys entendre de toy, si as cette bonne volunté. d'addresser partie de tes Oeuvres, & quelz, à ceste tant honnorable Dame, Madame la Duchesse d'Estampes: car suis certain, qu'il ne t'adviendra plus grand advancement d'honneur, né plus de plaisir à tes Amys, que de faire present de chose louable, & aggreable, à celle tant vertueuse & tresliberalle Princesse; en laquelle est le pouvoir de donner moyen à ton scavoir & affecté desir: faire chose proffitable, & de grand' efficace, à l'utilité publique: qui seroit perpetuelle obligation envers tous. Fay moy scavoir du tout. Je supply l'Eternel, nostre justificateur, & dateur de toutes graces, nous conduire en spirituelle vie. D'hyeres en Provence, Le xx de Juing, m.d.x.l.

—*Livre de ses Amys.* *P. F.*, p. 227 *et seq.*

ROB. BRIT. CAROLO SAMARTANO. S. D.

Recepisti te ad tuos: factum laudo: idem magnopere optamus: oia (otia?) tñ (tamen?) prius experiri certum est, atque id tentem, si cætera præ dignitate

institutum persequamur: Scribes ad nos, & valetu servies. Tolosæ, Septem. Id. Decem.

— *Roberti Britanni . . . epistolarum libri tres.* (1536), fol. 15 v°.

R. B. Carolo Sammarthano. S. D.

Te mihi ex memoria excidere non potuisse mir est mirandum: cum præsertim tecum jucundiss atque optatissimè Burdigalæ semper vixerim. I est, quod satis mirari non possum, te adduci potu ut ne id aliquando accideret, metueres: sed hujus tius dubitationis facilis est, ac per aperta, defensio, c tu a multis annis, neque ubi essem, teneres; neque ipse ubi ageres, satis exploratum haberem. Quòd n scribis mea reprehendi à multis, facile patior, ac f jam non molestè. Difficile enim est τῷ μώμῳ ἀφέσ Et nos quoque aures defessas jam obtrectatorum tulantia habemus: qui nobis indies non solum noce voluntate, verumetiam multitudine & numero s ipso apparatu copiarum metum iniicere conan Certum tamen est omnia perferre quæ ferri pote sin me contumeliosius invadi ab istis atque opp sensero, colligam me & quantum meus patietur pu istis modice tantum, quantum satis est, respondebo. co-optatum in collegium theologorum summè gratum, ut esse debet: jucundius etiam quoque ille in explecanda divina & præstantissima arte la non solum cæterarum rerum, quæ sunt laudabiles magnopere expetendæ, verumetiam honoris & gl fructus uberrimos capiat. De me autem quid dic Tu quidem me non mediocriter inflammasti stu imitandi tui, cum patriam adiisti. Nescio quo pa

id unum cogito, omissis cæteris studiis quæ sunt amplissima. Et gestio quodammodo ὡς οὐδὲν γλύκιον τῆς πατριδος οὐδὲ τοκήων γίγνεται.[1] Ac brevi, ut spero, te videbimus. Roulleto, si modo est Pictavi, salutem a me dicito: ad quem scripsissem, si esse istic certo scissem. Vale.

—*Rob. Britanni . . . epistolarum, libri duo* (1540), fols. 6 v° *et seq.*

R. B. Carolo Sammarthano. S. D.

Etsi magis tuam de his, quæ superioribus litteris petii, sententiam expectabam, quam ut te lacessere novis deberem, tamen cum ad te proficisceretur homo utriusque nostrum studiosissimus, tui verò etiam amore præcipue inflammatus, non potui ad te nihil literarum dare. De meis rebus statues, ut proximē ad te scripsi. Quiquid ages, tam erit gratum quam quod gratissimum. Dictaturam tibi gratulor. Luculentus iste tuus honor me indies magis ac magis reficit. Vale. Burdig. IIII. id. Oct.

—*Ibid.* fol. 8 r°.

Rob. B. Carolo Sammarthano. S. D.

Scribis ad me te summo, incredibilique honore ac studio à Rege & illius sorore probatissima & lectissima muliere Margareta exceptum fuisse. Quod mihi quidam per quam jucundum fuit. Non solum quia te propter ingenii amplitudinem honore semper dignissimum duxi verumetiam quod consuetudinem & vitam & politiss. sermones considerans tuos, reficior quodammodo, & recreor, cum ea tibi contigisse audio

[1] Odyssey, ι, 35.

quæ optimo cuique & modestissimo propter virtutem & constantiam omnium consensu tribui solent.

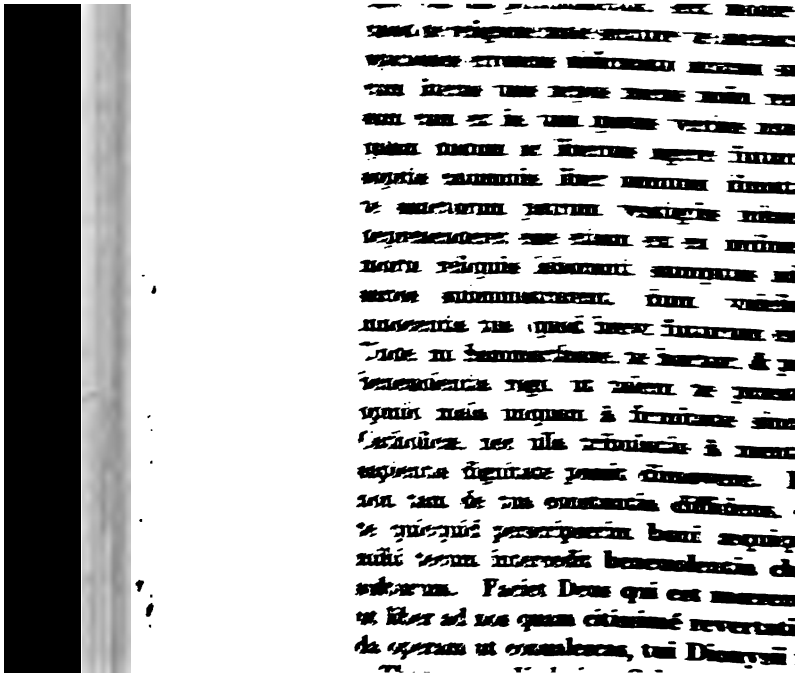
Me quidem istud multum delectavit, ut etiam ea necesse, sed illud multo magis, quod te idem Rex honorifice nec minus humaniter ad sacrarum professionem literarum invitavit, additis ad compensandos gloriosos labores uberrimis & honestis. stipendiis. Illa est professio plena existimationis, dignitatis, gratiæ, eaque non solum hominibus, quod ipsum tamen est magnum, verumetiam, quod multo est magis, divinæ providentiæ conciliamur. Quod me hortaris ut huic studio me dedam, facio equidem sedulo, factum tamen accuratius & studiosius, posteaquam videor satis magnos progressus in græca literatura feci. At stulte, inquies, quod hanc levissimam, illius gravissimæ & fructuosissimæ causa, negligas. Minime vero, neque enim id facio, ut illam hujus causa relinquam, neque id ferendum ullo modo puto. Sed quoniam videor illi commodius satisfacturus hac cognita, si quanto plus temporis in hoc quem in illo studio ponere decrevi, quòd cum fecero tum me ad Theologiæ quasi ad tutum atque optatissimum portum curarum & sollicitudinum omnium revocabo. De negocio meo quod scribis laudo. Nam id ita fieri maxime optabam, idque in rem etiam meam in primis fore videbatur. Quod tamen ut ne negligas te etiam atque etiam rogo. fortasse si ita erit commodum ad vos contendam propediem rectè Lutetiam petituri. Ac tum liber inter nos πάντα περὶ πάντως. Libellum sacrum de quo simul mentionem fecisti, vehementissime exopto dabis illum ad nos simul atque erit editum. Ita nobis nihil aliud possum scribere nisi illud, quæ

paulo ante posui me indies Lutetiam cognitare, sed varii de bello rumores metum afferunt, vix posse quod mihi proposui effici : nos tamen suo tempore omnia. Extremum est, quod cupis scire, sit ne verum illud, quod nos de Durasii morte dissipatur, scito illum esse Burdigale & florere valetudine ita, ut nunquam magis: sed arbitror homines non infacetos neque omnino illiteratos id continuo disseminasse, quod is nuper caussa accederit. De uxore erat controversia, nunc quia ab illa spe, quam sibi proposuerat quamque tantopere amplectebatur, est dejectus, id circo eum mortuum fingunt. Scitum est n. illud Catonis, & tibi opinor minime inauditum, animum amantis in alterius corpore vivere. Commendarem tibi tabelarium, nisi hunc eruditio & ingenium, & mehercule etiam humanitas, quæ in eo est maxima, satis commendare. Is nostri Gouveani est frater. Tuas literas Corderio & Zebedeo reddidi. Cupido ad nos scribas quam sæpissime: nos quidem si manebimus neque enim, ut dixi, quicquam adhuc certi habeo, te crebitate, etiam & verbositate literarum obruemus. Vale.

— *Ibid.*, fol. 12 r° *et seq.*

DIONYSIUS CAROLO SAMMARTANO. S. P. D.

Etsi ego minus idoneus sum, quàm ut meis literis levamen aliquod tibi affere possim, propterea quod & literæ meæ non sunt eius modi, quæ id possint efficere & ipse tuis incommodis ita sum effectus ut magis consolationem egere quàm tibi eam adhibere posse videar, attamen quia vi temporum & calamitatum concursu labefactatus animus minus sua quam aliena videt judicatque, volui pauca hæc ad te scribere, quibus &



ANTO. ARLERIUS CAROLO SAMARTHANO.

Quibus agiteris fortunæ ventis, tuis literis novimus: quamquam in verbi charitate et rerum tuarum familiarum exercearis. Quorum et si hæc propria et peculiaris philosophantibus est, illam vero te in portum directuram puta. Ego autem, mi Samarthane, me tibi adjutorem darem, ni cogerer Aulam de proximo proficisci, Regi Christianissimo gratias acturus, quod me, si nesciias, munere Senatoris apud Taurinenses donaverit. Vulueritque me etiam num Prosenescallum Arelatensem perpetuo esse. Ad quod viaticum, equos, vestes, et famulatus, quia non suppetunt, aere alieno obstringar oportet. Ecce quomodo infælici egestate constitutus, cogar, dissimulata paupertate, prodire in Regiam, amicos interpellare, et tibi omnium optimo negare, quæ alias essem ultro præstiturus. Vale, et a me literas propediem e Valensia expecta. Ex urbe Arelati, Calendis Januariis.

Quod ornamentum nomini nostro doctissimis tuis scriptis addideris, placet id quidem mihi, aliquando curaturo, nec te vigilias præstitisse pœniteat.

— *Unpublished.* *Cf.* p. 71, n. 1.

VERSES ADDRESSED TO SAINTE-MARTHE

LINES BY DENYS FAUCHER.

AD CAROLUM SAMARTHANUM.

Quas in me innumeras, amice, laudes
Et præconia congeris tuo tam
Suavi carmine docto et eleganti
Dum mecum tacita reuoluo mente,
Ni nossem quis ego siem, repentè

Tanto auctore mihi suasus ipse
Iam pulchellus homo viderer, ad me
Sed sensi rediens tuis camœnis
Me affectum variè, timore partim
Partim lætitia, timore nempè
Exin afficior, quod immerentem
Dum laudas studiosius, tuisque
Plumis conspicuum exhibere amicum
Contendis, videare me periculo
Non paruo obiicere, ut si opinionem
De me, non queo sustinere tantam,
Perfusus nimio pudore sannas
Et risum incipiam movere, ut olim
Cornix, quando aliarum inepta plumis
Exornata auium cupit Venusta
Et decore nimis cupit videri.
Id sed mi placuit pii Sodalis
Quod propensa mihi patet voluntas
Et dulcis patet hinc fidele amici
Erga me studium, patet fidelis
Et optatus amor, tuos qui ocellos
Ne possis liquido videre verum
Præstringens facit ut pusilla falso
Ausis iudicio æstimare summa,
Tanquam si ex ocularibus specillis
Pigmeum aspicias repentè factum
Gigantum, facile tibi sed istam
Condono facile pioque amico
Culpam, in quam nimio te amore ductum
Incidisse liquet; tamen caveto
Cum sis iudicio acri et Expolito
Ad unguem, numeris tuis Venustis

Indignum me oneres magis quam honores
Dum te laudibus extulisse credis
Ridendumque aliis magis propines.

– *Dionysii Faucherii monachi varium Poëma*, in the *Chronologia Sanctorum*, etc. (pp. 373 *et seq.*), p. 439.

LINES BY GILBERT DUCHER.

AD C. SMARTANUM.

Exhauriamus cæcuba cantharis,
Smartane, uastis, prolue Massico
Jam labra lætus: nec recuses
Nunc Thasio indere Coa uino.
Mauors Cruoris nostri auidus iacet
Tandem reuinctus compede ferrea.
Bellona fraternæ quieti
Addita deposuit furorem.
Pax nunc triumphat curribus aureis
Euecta, diues Gallia sordidam, &
Multo situ contaminatam
Exilio misero euocauit.
Hispanijs nunc Gallia iungitur
Faustis Leonoræ auspicijs modo
Cum prole utrisque expetitam
Vitam agitare sua licebit.
Ergo procellas solicitudinum
Tristesque mentis pellere turbines
Tempus uidetur, candide atros
Lætitæ excipiant dolores.

– *Gilberti Ducherii Vultonis Aquapersani, Epigrammaton libri duo*, p. 116.

Ad C. Smartanum.

Mnemosynes natis, ipso uel Appolline dignos
Accepi uersus, docte poëta, tuos.
Qui licet hoc habeant, quod rari fortè poëtæ
Præstiterint, mundos cum gravitate sales:
Attamen hoc unum nulla ratione probarim,
Conferri me adeò uatibus egrigijs.
Nasoni quòd Ducherium præponis, ut illa
Vergilio æqualem conditione putes:
Quam sit ridiculum, Smartane, &, mehercule falsum
Hic criticus poteras, Censor & esse tibi.
Nam te apud ut mihi sim, non præco, at uerus Apelles,
Peniculoque meo me aptius effigiem:
At myrthum insuanis ieiunum eructo poëma
Mopsopio passim dulcius amne fluis.
Phœbus es, & Pheobo tibi si me confero, fiam
Protinus extracta Marsya pelle tuus.

—*Gilberti Ducherii Vultonis Aquapersani, Epigrammatôn libri duo*, p. 116.

LINES BY VULTEIUS.

Ad Car. Marthanum.

Vis tibi dem nummos, longe es me ditior ipso.
Esset id in longum mittere ligna nemus.
Vis gemmas? digiti gemmarum pondere sudant,
Lucet in articulis gemma nec ulla meis.
Vis libros? Nullos habeo quin te putem habere:
Nam mea perpaucos bibliotheca capit.
Vis vestes? nequeo nam tantum possideo unam
Quæ brevis est, humeris nec satis apta tuis.
Vis pectus? tibi pectus habes prius ipsi dicatum.
Quid dem igitur, nisi dem, me dare posse nihil?

—*Joan. Vulteii Rhemi Inscriptionum libri duo*, fols. 45 r° and v°.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

SECTION I

Works of Charles de Sainte-Marthe.

1538. A Latin epigram: *Caroli Smartani Phaleucium ad Ducherium.* Included among the *Epigrammata amicorum* in *Gilberti Ducherii Vultonis Aquapersani epigrammaton libri duo. Apud Seb. Gryphium, Lugduni,* 1538. Bib. Nat. Yc.8222.

1540. *La Poesie Fran|coise de Charles de | Saincte Marthe| na|tif de Fonte|vrault en Poictou. Diuisée en | trois | Livres. | Le tout addressé | à tresnoble & tresill|ustre, Princesse | Madame la Du|chesse d'Estampes & Contesse de | Poinctievre. | Plus, | Un Livre de ses Amys. | Imprimé à Lyon | chés le Prince | MDXL.* 8°, 237 pp. Bib. Nat. Rés. Py.193. Without typographical marks, *privilège,* or *achevé d'imprimer.*[1]

The main divisions of this volume are as follows:

pp. 3–6: *Epistre a tresillustre et tresnoble Princesse Madame la Duchesse d'Estampes & Contesse de Poinctievre. Charles de saincte Marthe son tresobeissant rend humble Salut.*

[1] *Rē* reprints of various poems contained in this volume, *cf.* pp. 102 note 3, 117 note 2, 241 note 4, 250, 253 note 1; several were also reprinted by Viollet-le-Duc, *Catalogue de . . . la Bibl. poétique de,* Vol. II, pp. 207–209.

pp. 7–80: *Le Premier Livre de la Poesie Francoise de Charles de Saincte Marthe, contenant les Epigrammes.*

pp. 81–112: *Le second Livre de la Poesie Francoise de Charles de Saincte Marthe, contenant Rondeaux, Balades & chant Royaulx*[1] (*sic*).

pp. 113–124 (*sic;* actually 224): *Le Tiers Livre de la Poesie Francoise de Charles de Saincte Marthe, contenant Epistres & Elegies* (including Errata, pp. 222–224).

pp. [225]–237: *Le Livre de ses Amyes.* Contents as follows:

p. 227 (*sic;* actually 226): *A Monsieur le Secretain D'avenson, Charles de Saincte Marthe.*

pp. 226 (*sic;* actually 227)–228: *Leon de Saint More, dit de Monthozier, Chevalier de l'ordre de sainct Iean de Hierusalem, A Charles de Saint Marthe.*

pp. 229–237: Poems by Bigot, Dolet, Scève, P. de Marillac, Exupère de Claveyson, Tolet, Maurice Chausson, Jean Robour, Jean Benac, A. de Villeneuve, Charles Dupuy, & "Le Chevalier Grenet."

1543. *In* | *Psalmum* | *Septimum et Psal*|*mum xxxv Para*|*phrasis per Caro*|*lum Smarthanum* | *Fontbralden*|*sem, I. V. Doc.* | *Lugduni,* | *apud Principem 1543.* Between the title and the publisher's name is the following legend: "Disces hinc Lector in periculis & angustiis omnibus Deo fidere: &

[1] The *Errata* directs that the words "chant Royaulx" be stricken out.

iis liberatus, gra|tias ei agere: disces inquam paraphrastæ exemplo | qui hæc, in carcere uinctus, Jesu Christi meditatus est." pet. 8°, 215 pp. Without *privilège*. Without typographical mark on title-page. On last page, typographical mark no. 616, *Silvestre* (*Marques typographiques . . . des libraires et imprimeurs*, etc.). Bib. Ste. Geneviève no. B. 1515.[1] Contents as follows:

p. 2: *Errata* addressed *Candido lectori.*

pp. 3–16: Dedicatory letter: *Joanni Galberto Gratianopoli Allobrogum regio Senatori modis omnibus absoluto.*

pp. 17–133: *Caroli Smartani Fontebraldensis I. V. Doct., in Psalmum Septimum Paraphrasis.*

pp. 134–143: Dedicatory letter: *C. Smartanus Joanni Auansonio apud Gratianopolim regio Senatori amplissimo & doctissimo.*

p. 144: Epigram: *Ad Faysanum apud Gratianopolim Senatorem et Theod. Muletum in eod. Senatu Advocatum regium, Smartanus.*

[1] There is also a copy in the possession of M. Arthur Labbé of Châtellerault. (*Cf.* p. 161, n. 1.) The *Généalogie de la Maison de Sainte-Marthe* notes, fol. 22 v°: "Tant y a que ceste paraphrase (Ps. xxxiij) et la septiesme sont raportées et citées par Andreas Schotus, Jesuite d'Amiens au traité qu'il a fait des Interpretes de la S. Escriture ou des livres de la Bible, et au denombrement et particulier des Autheurs qui ont traité des paraphrases particulierès sur des Psaulmes comme sont les Doctes Cardinaux Sadolet, Contaren & autres. Cet ouvrage fut imprimé à Cologne, 1618." I have been unable to find and consult the work of Schott in question.

pp. 145–204: *Caroli Smartani Fontebraldini I. V. Doc., in Psalmum xxxiii Paraphrasis.*

pp. [205]–[211]: *Index insigniorum materiarum in hisce Paraphrasibus contentarum.*

pp. [212]–[214]: *Epistola Apologetica* (no headings of pages only). *C. Smarthanus I. Ludovico Furnaeo Jacobitae, theologo.*

1543. Presumably the last three of the five dizains attributed to Sainte-Marthe in *Les questions problématiques du pourquoy d'amours, nouvellement traduict d'italien en langue françoyse par Nicolas Leonique (Thomé), poëte françoys; avecq ung petit livre contenant le nouvel amour, inventé par le seigneur Papillon; et une epistre abhorrant folle amour; par Clément, Marot . . . aussi plusieurs dixains a ce propos de Saincte Marthe. M.D.XLIII. On les vend à Paris . . . a l'enseigne de Lucas de France par Alain Lotrian,* pet. in 8°; 40 fols., unpaginated, with woodcuts. (The description is Brunet's; I have not seen this volume.) The dizains were reprinted in the same year and again in 1546 with Papillon's *Le Nouvel Amour.* Papillon's poem and its accompaniments is to be seen in the Library of Congress (no. 41 *Office*), bound with a 1544 edition of Alaigre's translation from Guevara: *Le Mepris de la Cour.* As is shown by its *Imprimeur au Lecteur* (dated 1546), no less than by its pagination (it begins at fol. 161), it is not an integral part of this volume, otherwise unpaginated, but was taken from some other collection, probably the 1546 edition of *Le Mepris de la Cour,* which included *Le Nouvel Amour.* It was, however

actually reprinted in the same form with *Le Mespris de la Cour* in 1549 and again in 1568. In the Congressional Library copy, the dizains appear on fols. 178 v°–179 v°, of *Le Nouvel Amour inventé par le Seigneur Papillon. Item une epistre en abhorrant folle amour, par Clement Marot, varlet de chambre du Roy. Item plusieurs dixains à ce propos de S. Marthe,* and are entitled:

Fol. 178 v°: *Dizain de l'autheur & d'amour.*
Ibid.: De luy et de Venus.
fol. 179 r°: *De folle amour.*
Ibid.: Autre.
fols. 179 v°: *Autre Dizain de Cupido.*

Of these the first and second, the former a translation from Petrarch, are, as we have seen, Salel's. *Cf.* p. 196, note.

1550, March. *In obitum incompa|rabilis Margaritæ, Illustrissimę | Nauarrorū Reginæ, Oratio funebris, per | Carolum Sanctomar|thanum eiusdem Reginæ | (dum illa viveret) | apud Alēconienses Consiliarū, & | Supplicum libellorum magistrum. | Accessere | Eruditorum aliquot virorum eiusdem Re|ginæ Epitaphia. | Parisiis, | Ex officina Reginaldi Calderij | & Claudij eius filij. | M.D.L.* 4°, 147 pp. On title-page, typographical mark no. 432, *Silvestre.* Bound with French version. Bib. Nat. L²k. 1149. Contents as follows:

pp. [2]–4: *C. Sanctomarthanus lectori candido S.,* dated *Idibus Martiis 1550.*

pp. 5–136: *In Obitum Reginę Nauarræ, funebris Oratio.*

pp. 137-[146]: *Eruditorum aliquot, in eandem Epitaphia, i.e.*

p. 137: *Matthæi Paci, Jurisconsulti.*

p. 138: *Aliud ejusdem.*

p. 139: *εἰς τὴν τοῦ φραγκίσκου βασιλέως ἀδελφὴν Μαργαρίτην τεθνηκυῖαν, Ἰακώβου Γοντιέως ἱερέως εἰς Τὴν αὐτήν.*

p. 140: *Petri Minarii Dialogus. Regina Navarræ & Poeta interlocutores.*

p. 141: *Antonii Armandi Massiliensis. Renati Sanctemarthani.*

p. 142: *Petri Martelli Alencon. ejusdem Reginæ Secretarij.*

Car. Sanctomarthani I. V. Doct., Dialogus.

p. 144: *Aliud* } presumably by Sainte-Marthe.
Aliud }
Aliud }

p. 145: *Aliud. Margaridi vocem*, etc.[1] *Cf.* Appendix, p. 549.

Huberti Sussanæi.

p. [146]: *Epitaphia. Inscribebat Comes Alcinus*

p. [147]: *Privilège*, dated xviij Calend. Maij M.D.L. *Sig.* de Launay.

1550, March. A sonnet: *De la Paix faicte par le Roi avec les Anglois.* Included in the *Ode de la Paix par Pierre de Ronsard. Vendomois, Au Roi.* Guillaume Cavellat, 1550, *cit.* P. Laumonier, *Chronologie et variantes des poésies de Pierre de Ronsard, Rev. d'Hist. Litt.*, 1904, p. 436 *et seq.*, who gives

[1] Reprinted in the *Tombeau de Marguerite, de Valois Royne de Navarre*, p. 170.

a full description of the volume. It is in no public library in France. There is a copy in the library of the Baron J. de Rothschild (*cf.* Picot, *Catalogue*) and another in that of M. Laumonier.

1550, April. *Oraison funebre | de l'incomparable | Marguerite, Royne de | Navarre, Duchesse d'Alencon. Composée en latin, par Charles de | Saincte Marthe: & traduicte par | luy, en langue Francoise. | Plus | Epitaphes de ladicte Dame: par aulcuns Poetes | Francois. | Icy est le mirouer des Princesses. | Imprimé à Paris par Regnault Chauldierete. Claude son fils, le vingtiesme d'Ap|uril, 1550. | Auec Priuilege du Roy, pour six ans.* 4°, 148 pp. On title-page typographical mark no. 1142, *Silvestre.* Bib. Nat.,

{ L k 1149. Bound with Latin version.
{ L k 1150. Bound separately.

Contents as follows:

fol. Aj v°: *Privilège.* Dated le xiiij d'Apvril 1550. *Sig.* de Launay.

fols. Aij r°–Aiiij v°. *A Treshaultes et Tresillustres Princesses Mes Dames Marguerite de France Sœur unique du Roy: & Jheanne, Princesse de Nauarre, Duchesse de Vendosmois.* (*Cf.* Appendix, p. 550 *et seq.*)

pp. 1–125: *Oraison funèbre de la Mort De l'incomparable Marguerite Royne de Navarre & Duchesse d'Alençon.* Reprinted by Anatole de Montaiglon in his ed. of the *Heptaméron*, Paris, Eudes, 1880, Vol. I, pp. 21–130.[1]

[1] My references are to this reprint, except in quotations from the Dedication, which is not reproduced by Montaiglon.

p. 126 (actually 127, 126 being blank): *Epitaphe de plusieurs doctes personnes, sur le trepas de ladicte Royne de Navarre.* i.e.
M. du Val Evesque de Saix.
M. Heroet.

p. 128: *M. I. Frotté Secretaire du Roy & maistre des Finances de ladicte Royne, à l'Esprit d'icelle.*
Chant funebre de Loys de Sainte Marthe, Procureur du Roy au pais de Lodunois.

p. 130: *Par un secretaire de ladicte Royne.*
Du mesme.

p. 131: *Du mesme.*
Du mesme.

p. 141 (*sic*, actually 132): *Sonnet de I. M.*

p. 142 (*sic*, actually 133): *Aultre du Mesme.*
Par A.D. Damoyselle Parisienne, Sonnet[1]

p. 132 (*sic*, actually 134): *D'elle mesme.*
De ladicte Dame, par Auteur incertain.

p. 135: *Pierre des Mireurs.*

p. 145 (*sic*, actually 136): *Du Mesme.*
Epitaphe du cueur de ladicte Dame par ledessusdict.

p. 137 (correct): *C. D. S. M.* (Sainte-Marthe).

p. 132 (*sic*, actually 138): Aultre.
Prosopee de la Terre.
Aultre, tourné du latin.

p. 139 (illegible): *A Damoiselle Renee Loudr d'Alencon, Sonnet.*

1550, May. Five Latin poems included in the volume entitled: *Annæ, Margaritæ, Ianæ, Sororum Virginum*

[1] This "sonnet" has 12 lines, arranged a b a b b c b c d c d.

Heroidum Anglarum; In mortem Diuæ Margaritæ Valesiæ, Navarrorum Reginæ, Hecatodistichon. Accessit Petri Mirarij ad easdem virgines Epistola; unà cum doctorum aliquot virorum Carminibus. Parisiis ex officina Reginaldi Calderij & Claudij eius filij, anno salutis 1550 cum Privilegio. Bib. Nat. Rés. Pyc. 1215.

Their titles are:

1. *Caroli Sanctomarthani Iur. Vtr. Doct. ad Gallos. Cur tam pauci poetæ Galli Reginam Nauarræ laudant.* p. 135 *et seq.*
2. *Margaritæ Reg. Nav. Tumulus per C. S.*[1] p. 142.
3. *Spiritus Reginæ ad Viatorem. C. S.*
4. *Eiusdem C. S. Cur tam pauci poetæ Galli Reginam Navarræ laudant.* p. 144.
5. *Pro Gallis Poetis, responsio per eundem.* p. 145.

The other contributors in their order are: Denisot; Pierre des Mireurs; Matth. Pac; Daurat; Valentina Alsinsoia (wife or daughter of Denisot?); Baïf, a Greek epigram; Goupil, two Greek poems; Ren. Sanc. (René de Sainte-Marthe); Louis de Sainte-Marthe; Mart. Brionæi Parisensis; (Martial de Brionne); Gerard Denisot; Mathur. Dod; Daurat; Pierre des Mirreurs.

1550, June. *In Psalmum | nonagesimum pia ad | modum & Christiana | Meditatio, | Per Carolum Sancto| marthanum Fontebraldensem. I.V.D.* S. l. n. d. True title-page apparently lacking. pet. 8°, 55 fols. Without typographical marks or *privilège.* Bib. Mazarine, no. 23433.

[1] Reprinted with two additional lines in the *Tombeau de Marguerite de Valois Royne de Navarre.* p. 160.

Contents as follows:

Fols. 2 r°–4 r°: Dedicatory letter. *Carolus Sanctmarthanus Gastono Olivario Mancii domino* S.D.

Fol. 4 v°. Blank.

Fols. 5 r°–7 r°: *Ejusdem Psalmi Argumentum & eundem.*

Fols. 7 v° and 8 r° and v°. Blank.

Fols. 9 r°–50 v°: *In Psalmum XC pia admodum et consolatoria meditatio paraphrastica, per Cn. Sanctemarthanum I.V.D.*

Fols. 51 r°–51 v°: *P. Mirarii ad Lectorem exhortatio.* Remainder unpaginated.

Fols. giij r°–[gvj] r°: *Index Rerum Memorabilium in hac Meditatione contentarum. Literæ A. B. pag. indicant.*

Fols. [gvj] v°–[gvij] v°: *Cn. Sanctemarthanus F. Gab. Putherbeo, Sodali Fontebraldensi.* Dated Lutetiæ, 13 Calend. Julias, 1550.

Fol. [gvij]: *Petri Musonii ad Pium Lectorem Epigramma.*

1550, Oct. *Oraison fun|ebre sur le tres|pas de tresheu & tresillustre Dame | & Princesse, Francoise d'Alencon Duchesse de Beaumont, | Douairiere de Vendosmois & de Longeuille. Par Charles de Saincte | Marthe Docteur es Droicts. Imprimé à Paris par Regnaud Chauldiere, & Claude son fils. 1550 | auec Priuilege du Roy.* 8°, 48 fols. (1 title-page, typographical mark no. 1142, *Silvestre*, Bib. Maz. no. 42207.

Contents as follows:

Fol. 2 r° and v°: *Charles de Saincte Marthe Docteur es Droicts, au lecteur, Salut.*

Fols. 3 r°–44 r°: *Oraison funebre sur le trespas de treshaulte & tresillustre Dame & Princesse Francoise d'Alencon Duchesse de Beaumont, Donairière de Vendosmois & de Longueuille.*

Fol. 44 v°: *Epitaphe de Tresillustre Princesse Madame la Duchesse de Vendosmois & de Beaumont, Par Pierre des Mirreurs.*

Fols. 45 r°–48 r°: *Discours du nouveau changement des choses, faict sur les armes de la maison de France, par Pierre des Mirreurs.*

1551. Two poems were reprinted, one from the *Hecatodistichon*, the other from the *In obitum . . . Margaritæ . . . Oratio funebris*, in the *Tombeau de Marguerite de Valois, Royne de Navarre.* Paris, 1551, Bib. Nat. Rés. Ye 1633. These poems are the *Tumulus per C. S.*, p. 160, and one entitled *Aliud* beginning "Margaridi vocem morbus." p. 170.

The other contributions to this collection are: (1) Prefatory matter: Robert de la Haye; Denisot; P. G. T.; des Essars, a letter dated 22e Februrier 1550; Ronsard. (2) Translation of the *Hecatodistichon*, distich by distich; Daurat (Greek); Jean Pierre de Mesmes (I. P. D. M.) (Italian); Denisot and Du Bellay (I. B. D. A.) (French); several of the distichs translated in addition by Antoinette de Loynes (Dam. A. D. L.) and Antoine de Baïf. (3) Original contributions: Daurat; de Mesmes; Ronsard; Du Bellay; Baïf; J. du Tillet; Goupil; Denisot; Matth. Pac; Macrin; Bourbon; Claude d'Espence; Antoine Armande de Marseilles; Jean Tagaut; P. des Mirreurs; N. Peron; Jacques. B.A (?); Robert de la Haye;

Ἀριστῷ τοκετῷ (?); "Damoiselle A. D. T." (L. T. Morel, Embrunois; C. Bouguier, Angers). The collection ends with two anonymous productions, the last a sonnet.

SECTION II

GENERAL.

ABARBANEL. *Dialoghi di amore composti per Leon Medico (Abarbanel), di natione Hebreo, et di poi fatto Christiano.* Venice, Aldus, 1545. (First ed. Rome, 1535.)

ÆLIAN.[1] *Ex Æliani historia per P. Gyllium latine facta itemque ex Porphyrio, Heliodoro, Oppiano, hinc eodem Gyllio accessionibus aucti libri xvi. De animalium et natura animalium. Ejusdem Gyllii liber unus de Gallicis et Latinis nominibus piscium.* Lyons, Gryphe, 1533.

Variæ historiæ, Libri XIV . . . Rome 156[illegible]

Variæ historiæ . . . cum interpretatione Conradi Gesneri et Justi Vulteii. Ed. Gronovius. Amst. 1731.

AIGUEPERSE, P. G. *Biographie ou Dictionnaire historique des personnages d'Auvergne, illustres ou fameux par leurs écrits, leurs exploits, leurs vertus . . .* Clermont-Ferrand, 1834.

ALAMANNI, LUIGI. *Opere Toscane di Luigi Alamanni al Christianissimo re Francesco primo.* Lyons, Gryphe, 1533.

ALBERTI, LEON BATTISTA. *Hecatomphile. De re equestre et navigaire Italien tourné en langaige Francoys.* [illegible]

[1] The two editions, available for Sainte-Marthe, are that consulted by me.

fleurs de Poesie Francoyse. Paris, Galliot du Pré, 1534.

LLARD, GUY. *La bibliothèque du Dauphiné, contenant les noms de ceux qui se sont distinguéz par leur sçavoir dans cette province, dressée par M. G. Allard.* Grenoble, 1680.

Nobilaire du Dauphiné, ou discours historique des familles nobles qui sont en cette province, . . . Grenoble, 1671.

LLUT, M. P. *Etude biograph. et bibliograph. sur Symphorien Champier.* Lyons, 1859.

NGIER, P. *L'experience de l'Amye de court contre la contreamye. Cf.* Guevara.

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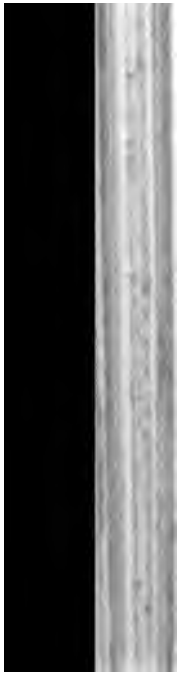

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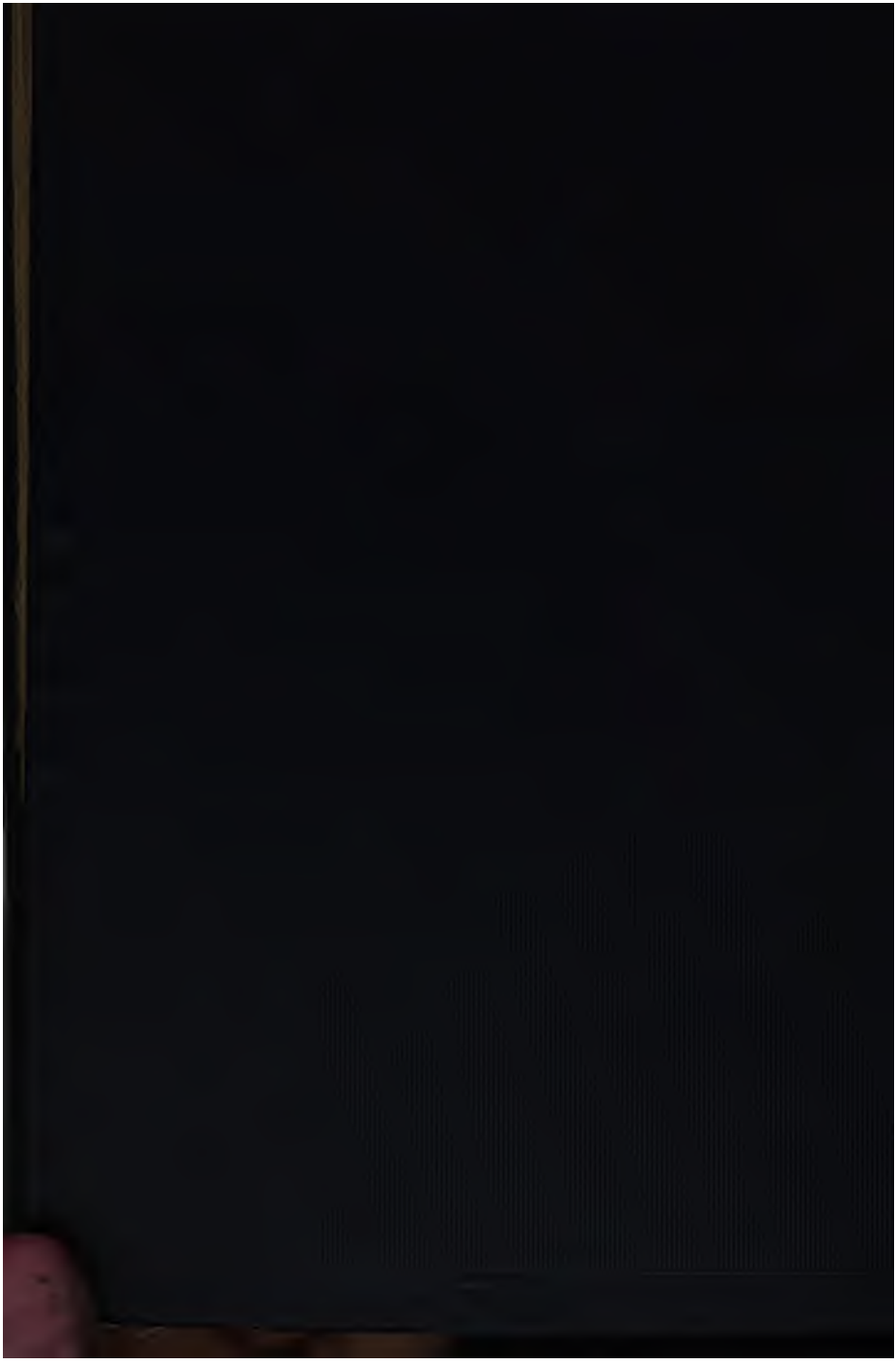
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